

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 201 055

EA 013 507

AUTHOR Sinclair, Robert L., Ed.: And Others
 TITLE A Two-Way Street: Home-School Cooperation in Curriculum Decisionmaking.
 INSTITUTION Institute for Responsive Education, Boston, Mass.
 PUB DATE Nov 80
 NOTE 99p.
 AVAILABLE FROM Institute for Responsive Education, Box D, 704 Commonwealth Ave., Boston, MA 02215 (\$6.00; 10% discount on orders of 10 or more copies).
 EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
 DESCRIPTORS Academic Achievement; *Curriculum Development; Curriculum Evaluation; Elementary Secondary Education; Family Role; *Parent Participation; Parent Role; *Parent School Relationship; *Parent Teacher Cooperation; School Role; Teacher Role

ABSTRACT

Three papers from the 1980 American Educational Research Association Conference, with an introduction and afterword, examine the evidence, possibilities, and problems for parental involvement in curriculum decision-making. The introduction, by Ralph Tyler, places parental involvement in education in its historical context, summarizes the three conference papers, and concludes that improving children's education depends on developing continuity in the home and school environments. The first conference paper, by Mario Fantini, reviews empirical evidence about the effects on academic achievement of different kinds of parental involvement. It concludes that involvement in school governance enhances student self-image while involvement in instruction improves academic achievement. The second conference paper, by Robert Sinclair and Ward Ghory, suggests ways for parents and teachers to plan, implement, and evaluate school curricula. However, warns Sara Lawrence Lightfoot in the third conference paper, the sometimes adversary relationship between home and school is based on their different social-structural roles, so educators pursuing parental involvement should expect parent-school conflict and not consider it all negative. Don Davies' afterword advances "co-production"--the organized efforts of producers (educators) and direct and indirect consumers (students and parents)--as an organizing principle for home-school cooperation in curriculum decision-making. (Author/RW)

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A TWO-WAY STREET: HOME-SCHOOL COOPERATION
IN CURRICULUM DECISIONMAKING

By

Robert L. Sinclair, Editor, and
Mario D. Fantini, Ward J. Ghory,
Sara Lawrence Lightfoot,
and Ralph W. Tyler

With an Afterword by Don Davies

Published by

THE INSTITUTE FOR RESPONSIVE EDUCATION

NOVEMBER 1980

EA 013 507

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PREFACE

Robert L. Sinclair

The trend toward children learning in schools apart from the potential contributions of the home is changing. The emphasis is now on searching for constructive ways to build a truly public educational system that consists of a network of learning environments connecting schools with other settings. Simply stated, schools alone cannot and should not take on the total responsibility for educating children. Rather, meaningful associations between homes and schools need to be formed so that both settings can play important roles in helping youngsters to develop academic competence.

Building a curriculum across homes and schools may prove to be one of the important challenges educators will face in the 1980's and beyond. We suggest that a starting point for accomplishing this effort is intelligent collaboration between parents and teachers in making curriculum decisions. This collection serves as a platform from which to initiate the redirection of curriculum from predominately school-bound experiences to more combined home and school environments for encouraging learning. The major body of this collection consists of three papers that were originally presented in a symposium entitled, "Toward Being at Home in School: Parent Involvement in Curriculum Decisionmaking," at the 1980 American Educational Research Association Conference. Ralph Tyler leads off with an introduction and a critique of these papers. Next, Mario Fantini examines the influence of parent involvement on academic achievement. In Section Three, Ward Ghory and I suggest ways that parents and teachers can join together to make wise curriculum decisions. Sara Lawrence Lightfoot, in Section Four, describes persistent political issues associated with family and school collaboration. Don Davies adds a final word in Section Five about how ideas presented in previous sections can be moved into action.

The major purpose of this collection, then, is to provide future directions for curriculum decisionmaking. Children's education can no longer be viewed as a "one-way street" where the school alone is responsible for children's learning. Rather, children's education should, and must, be viewed as a "two-way street" where the home and school take an active part in and are responsible for children's learning. It is hoped that this publication will be used by educators, including parents, to promote quality education through increased coordination between home and school environments for learning.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Institute for Responsive Education is pleased to present this publication which is based on papers presented in the symposium, "Toward Being At Home In Schools: Parent Involvement In Curriculum Decisionmaking," at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association in Boston in April 1980. The symposium was conceived and organized by Dr. Robert L. Sinclair, of the University of Massachusetts, and was chaired by Dr. Ward Ghory of the Cincinnati Public Schools. We appreciate Dr. Sinclair's efforts in making this publication possible and in serving as general editor of the material. Dr. Bemy Shabazz, of Medgar Evers College, made valuable suggestions to the authors for improvement of the papers. We also appreciate the willingness of the individual authors to contribute to this publication. Editing and production work at the Institute for Responsive Education was the responsibility of Ross Zerchykov and Gian Lombardo, aided by Owen Heleen. W. Dana Rudolph, IRE Office Manager, typed the manuscript.

SECTION ONE

PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT IN CURRICULUM DECISIONMAKING:

A REVIEW AND CRITIQUE

Ralph W. Tyler

Director Emeritus, Center for Advanced
Study in the Behavioral Sciences

This collection of papers centers on "parental involvement in curriculum decisionmaking." The three papers below help to distinguish between parental involvement in curriculum decisionmaking and other kinds of parental participation.

Such a focus on involvement in curriculum decisionmaking is long overdue. There is much current discussion of parent and community involvement in education. But there is very little analysis and interpretation of the several kinds of involvement and of the problems encountered in each kind. The papers presented in this collection, therefore, fill an important need. They identify different kinds of involvement and they suggest the significant contributions that can be made when parents, teachers, principals and students seek to develop environments in the home, the community and the school that will stimulate children's learning. Furthermore, the papers identify and describe some of the misperceptions among parents and school personnel that routinely impede or prevent effective parent-school cooperation.

Mario Fantini's paper reminds us that community involvement, and particularly parental involvement, in education, is rooted deeply in our history. Fantini himself does not deal at length with that history--with the long and slow evolution of the family's right to participate in decisions about schooling. There are, however, several important stages and precedents in that history.

Looking back to the Colonial Period in America one gains some perspective on this gradual development of the family's role in

education. At that time, the Acts of the English Parliament required every individual to live within the discipline of some family or surrogate family. These Acts enjoined all families to see to the proper religious and vocational training of their members. Thus an educational configuration developed composed of household, church and school. The household carried the largest share of the responsibility for the training and education of children, but the specifications for training and education were laid down by the state, and, to some extent, by the church. Families, as such, had no place in deciding what children were to learn and how education and training were to be carried out.

When the United States was founded, the educational responsibilities were still borne by families and schools but the electorate, through school boards and committees, replaced Parliament and the church as sources of decisions about schooling. At the local level, the accepted traditions reinforced by the views of the majority of the community furnished the chief basis for decisions about schooling. A consensus among this local majority could and often did override decisions by school personnel but only in the last quarter century has there been a clear movement toward involving minorities and individual families in curriculum decisionmaking.

Another important development in the two centuries of this nation's life has been the shifting of more and more responsibilities onto the school. As noted above, in the Colonial Period in America, the family was held responsible for training and educating their children. However, schools were established in some colonies whose primary role was to teach reading, writing, and "reckoning," as arithmetic was then called. In the early years of our nation, new educational purposes for producing an enlightened citizenry were discussed and debated as these schools developed. The result was the assignment, either explicitly or implicitly, to the school of the task of teaching citizenship. This was followed over the years by the shifting of other responsibilities from the family to the school. Much of this shift was mandated by legislation that responded to the recognition of new specialized educational tasks. In 1917, for example, the shortage of skilled workers in the First World War stimulated Congress to pass the Smith-Hughes Act authorizing Federal financial assistance to states

that would undertake vocational training in their high schools. More recently, however, additional pressures for expanding the school's role have resulted from changed situations in families. The Civil Rights movement brought to public attention the inadequacy of many homes in providing the conditions thought to be essential for educational achievement. Pressures developed for the establishment of pre-schools for young children. It was thought that these would make up for the perceived parental limitations. Many compensatory programs for children combine education for mothers with that of the children. The effect of these efforts has been to cast doubt on the practices and the wisdom of parents in rearing their children and providing for their education, and it has been relatively easy to get support for the recommendation that public agencies take over family responsibilities for training and education. But, the substitution of a bureaucratic agency -- whether it be the school, day-care centers, or some other entity -- for the family will rarely furnish the physical, intellectual and emotional support and encouragement essential to the full development of children. This claim is now being supported by research in several disciplines. A recognition of the primary role of the family in training and educating children unites the papers in this collection. The problem is not how to reduce the family's influence on education, but rather to determine how the family, the community and the school together can strengthen their own capacities in order to provide the rich environments needed for the full growth and development of children.

Seen against this historical background, Fantini's classification of parent and community participation is very helpful in distinguishing the purposes and the probable outcomes of different types of involvement.

First, Fantini notes that citizen participation in school governance is essential in order to maintain public control of public institutions. And citizen participation also helps to prevent the so-called "tyranny of the expert." But he reminds us that there is little evidence that this kind of involvement has a direct effect on student learning.

Second, Fantini notes that parents also act as consumers who

continually appraise the school. This "appraisal" does have the effect of increasing the consciousness of school personnel that they are accountable to the public for the quality of their products, that is, the educational attainments of their students. Again, however, Fantini finds no research evidence to indicate the direct effect of such participation on students' learning.

Third, parents can and do participate as "employees" of the school as paraprofessionals and the like. This type of involvement provides an opportunity for these parents to learn about school practices from their employment in the school which can thus stimulate them to seek to learn more about schools and education. Fantini, however, finds no evidence to suggest that the effect of this type of participation on student learning is greater than the effects obtained by employing additional school personnel irregardless of whether or not they are parents.

Finally, when parents and other community members are involved in the school in direct efforts to improve the learning of the students, the research evidence is more conclusive. This kind of participation, Fantini finds, does show a measurable effect on student achievement, and this conclusion leads naturally into Section Three in this collection by Robert Sinclair and Ward Ghory.

Sinclair and Ghory begin their presentation with the statement of an implied problem:

Although parents and teachers have collective responsibility for the education of children, seldom do they share a grip on family and school environments that can tap the potential all children have for learning.

To deal with this problem, they suggest three main directions for improving family-school relationships that are likely to develop productive environments for learning.

The first direction is to conceive of the curriculum not as a printed course of study but as environments in which children learn and grow. Such a conception helps one to realize that the family, the community and the school are all providing environments which can be examined and, where necessary, be transformed to become environments for productive learning. A second direction is to examine the assumptions, often unstated, which lead parents and teachers to

counterproductive efforts, and to substitute for these negative assumptions new ones which can be used to form closer associations between school and home. The third direction is to follow a proposed design for uniting parents and teachers that would encourage both groups to collaborate in building complementary learning environments for elementary school children.

The curriculum, in its broadest sense, can best be conceived as both the ends and means of education, and the environments in which children learn have imbedded within them both the ends -- things to be learned -- and the means -- the experiences which stimulate, guide and reinforce learning. It is also useful to note that the curriculum as expressed -- in written or oral descriptions -- is not identical with what the learner perceives regarding the means and ends of his/her learning. Hence, it is important to examine the implied, as well as the expressed, curriculum and to recognize that, based on such an examination, teachers and parents can work to make the environments for learning more effective. The result is called the emergent curriculum.

This treatment of curriculum, however, does have certain limitations. It does not, for example, deal directly with one of the central problems of schooling: What should students be helped to learn? This is a significant issue of concern for parents as well as teachers and the public. It can be included in the term "environments for learning" since an adequate description of an environment for learning should indicate what is being learned as well as the conditions for the learning. No doubt Sinclair and Ghory recognize the need to be clear about the ends of education in designing environments for learning, but some readers may tend to think of environments solely in terms of their potential in encouraging learning and overlook the importance of focusing on ends that are significant enough to justify cooperative efforts to achieve them.

Their identification of four major assumptions about the education process that impede or prevent cooperation between parents and teachers in developing effective curricula is an excellent analysis of stumbling blocks in cooperation. The four new assumptions they propose are very helpful in guiding the planning and development of productive cooperation.

Finally, Sinclair and Ghory outline a plan for facilitating and guiding the teaming together of parents and teachers. There are four phases to their plan: (i) building a shared platform of educational values and expectations that will shape the settings for learning they create; (ii) diagnosing a child's learning needs and characteristics to determine favorable curriculum conditions; (iii) planning and implementing environments that will make desired learning possible; and (iv) evaluating the effectiveness of the learning environments that are created in families and in schools.

These four phases all seem to be constructive, essential and important, but the paper may give the reader the impression that each phase should be completed before undertaking the next. The diagram in the text, however, shows these phases as parts of a continuing cycle. My experience would emphasize this continuous nature of each phase. As parents, teachers and other community members become involved in seeking to improve children's education, the initial period will be one of hesitation. Shyness, possible distrust, lack of confidence, sense of powerlessness, each role group's -- parents and teachers -- sense of limited experience in the other's arena are all likely to make the initial encounters brief, concentrating on manifest problems or opportunities and requiring limited self-revelation. Each meeting will furnish additional opportunities for each group to clarify values and goals and share while recognizing and respecting continuing differences. Similarly, diagnoses will be continuing and, hopefully, they will be made with increasing insight. Obviously, the planning will improve with each cycle as experience and evaluation indicate where plans need improvement and where suggestions for new opportunities for making environments productive are to be made. Sinclair and Ghory's general description of these four phases for teaming together parents and teachers could serve as a useful framework for groups working on plans for home-school collaboration.

Sara Lawrence Lightfoot's comprehensive and sensitive analysis of family and school environments in the fourth section of this collection of papers reveals both constructive possibilities and serious problems in cooperatively developing more productive learning environments for children. As she puts it:

To fully capture family-school interactions, families need to be seen as educative environments where children experience their first and most profound curricular messages. Rather than ask how the family can become involved in the curricula of the school, we might ask how the curricula of family and school could reinforce each other?

A major problem impeding this kind of constructive cooperation is the widening gulf between families and schools. Life in both settings seems to become increasingly guarded and inapproachable. Families seek privacy; and schools seek safety. In this tendency towards safety, schools are becoming increasingly more bureaucratic, more guarded and resistant to outside influences. Before progress is likely to be made in effective family-school cooperation, origins of conflicts and differences need to be discovered. An understanding of those origins should make it easier to suggest ways in which these differences might be resolved or channeled into productive disagreements.

The identification of differences in structural properties, scope of relationships, and degree of affectivity helps us to see how easy it is for a teacher to be confused about the parent's role and how easy it is for the parent to be equally confused about the teacher's role. The areas of responsibility are overlapping; the boundaries are fuzzy. This can often lead to struggles for clarity and boundary setting as parents argue about who should be in control of the child's life in school. Lightfoot also points out that one reason why struggles over territoriality are rarely articulated, clarified and resolved is that there are very few opportunities for parents and teachers to come together for meaningful substantive discussions. Scheduled group occasions bringing together parents and teachers are ritualistic and do not allow for real contact and discussions in depth. Individual contacts are rare and tend to be ritualistic or precipitated by some problem thereby leading to defensiveness on the part of both the teacher and the parent.

Lightfoot's sensitive and sympathetic description of the feelings and perceptions of low-income parents is an important contribution to our understanding of problems likely to be faced in developing genuine cooperation. Their sense of exclusion, and powerlessness, and their

perception of teachers as having little concern for their children, not only help to explain common situations but also suggest the kind of efforts that can be undertaken to reduce these negative feelings. Lightfoot is careful, however, to remind us that each local situation can have unique aspects, hence her general descriptions should serve to initiate special inquiries in each school and community in order to understand the origins and the nature of misperceptions there.

She also makes an important point in emphasizing that the goal is to make home and school environments continuing and complementary rather than identical. A certain necessary difference is important to maintain; the school environment should provide an arena for the child that is different from that of the home, but the learning in one environment should not be in conflict with the learning in the other. Furthermore, the goal of an integrated environment for learning can only be realized when there is trust, accountability and responsibility shared between families, communities and schools.

Each of the three papers have suggested some of the conditions necessary for shared trust, accountability and responsibility. Each has helped us to distinguish involvement in curriculum decisionmaking from other kinds of parent participation. Some offer research indicating that parent involvement in direct efforts to improve student learning can help to increase educational achievement. The three papers which follow also outline directions that are likely to bring about productive environments in home and school. We have been reminded, however, that in many communities, families and schools have become separated and they are not easily brought together to jointly develop better educational environments. The challenge is clear: the trusting relationships required for successful efforts to improve children's learning can only emerge through developing continuity in the home and school environments.

SECTION TWO

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION: ALTERNATIVE PATTERNS AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES ON EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

Mario D. Fantini

Dean of the School of Education of the
University of Massachusetts at Amherst

Citizen involvement, especially parent involvement, in the processes of education is rooted deeply in American history. Lay participation has been a matter of policy as well as practice in our public schools since their founding. Lay boards of education, at the present time, act as school trustees in local systems nationwide. Schools, in turn, have become extensions of the family as teachers and administrative officials find themselves assuming parental tasks with attendant responsibility and, indeed, occasional strain.

That educational personnel are called upon to serve in loco parentis indicates a functional tie between institution and home. This tie has a complex nature insofar as the concept of in loco parentis affirms a parental element within the educational process at the same time that it transfers parental authority to the schools. As a result, this partial transfer as represented by the in loco parentis association is, in some respects, a matter of opposition as well as identification. That is, the more that schools assume parental offices, the more parents become removed from direct involvement in the schools.

The "double-bind" of lay participation in education again reflects the basic democratic principles from which it originated. As will be

Editor's Note: This section was adapted in part from a paper prepared for the State of Georgia's Department of Education in conjunction with its development of criteria for "Standards for Public Schools of Georgia" in 1979. The author would like to acknowledge, with gratitude, the contributions made to this work by Dr. Marcia S. Curtis and Ms. Vanessa Mas.

shown below, the abdication of citizens' involvement in the governance and business of public schools is as true to democratic theory as is the assertion of their right to direct control. These two tendencies have set the ongoing dialogue that we, as parents and educators, continue to take part in today.

THE CLAIMS: DEMOCRATIC THEORY AND PARENT PARTICIPATION

Before reviewing the evidence on community involvement as a factor in school achievement, it is useful to trace the roots of parent participation as they are formed in democratic theory. In doing so, it will allow us to identify the fundamental notion which requires that citizens engage directly in all political processes. This notion is one of the underlying values of traditional democratic theory which emphasizes individual participation and unmediated involvement in the areas of production as well as governance.

John Stuart Mill articulated a 19th century version of such a participatory democracy which had, as its telos, a genuine human community. He argued that: "the most important point of excellence which any form of government can possess" is the capacity "to promote the virtue and intelligence of the people themselves." With these words, Mill clearly assumed society's charge to be the development of its citizenry through the medium of civic involvement. Yet, just as clearly, we can see that the setting, as well as the accomplishment of a task of this sort, would depend, from the first, upon at least a modicum of trust in an able and reliable population. Early philosophers based their claims upon such a trust; early American educators did apply Mill's postulates to tasks of their own. But, as American society grew in complexity and the experience of a participatory democracy became subject to analysis, revisions in the original, so-called "classical democratic theory," with its emphasis on individual participation, gave way to a revised, more elitist view. At the base of the "revisionist doctrine" was always the notion that the average citizen was too busy or just plain too simple to deal directly with the complexity of civic affairs. Elite theorists have argued that in order for decisions to be made intelligently, for basic policies

to be established coherently, and for the administration of political institutions to proceed efficiently, there is a need for a specialized group of political entrepreneurs who need only consult, rather than involve, citizens in policymaking.

Historically, elitist theories of democracy have both resulted from and have contributed to the rise of professionalization. The values of professionalism have not, however, totally eclipsed the classical theory of participatory democracy. Instead, there is an unresolved tension between the classical theory, with its emphasis on the individual participant, and the elitist theory, with its alternative faith in a cadre of specialized representatives. This tension outlines the philosophic framework for all discussions of political participation in American society. In the education sector, it marks the opposing poles of our available models of community participation in their present and historic forms.

The origins of public education in this country reflect a coincidence of classical democratic theory and schooling practice. That practice involved direct lay participation in the teaching process: the family functioned as the primary place of learning and the parent was the principle educator. The growing complexity of American society corresponded with the evolution of political and educational processes toward the representative (rather than direct, unmediated) participation that elitist theory prescribes. This did not indicate a total surrender of parental authority in public education any more than it signified a general silencing of individual voices in matters affecting the nation's governance as a whole. To the contrary: in loco parentis statutes preserve the ultimate authority of parents as participants in establishing school policy and in reviewing the procedures by which services are delivered to their children. It is, therefore, important to emphasize that the parent, like the citizen, still maintains the right to participate actively and effectively in all public matters, a right (not merely a privilege) based in the articulation of fundamental democratic tenets and in the establishment of a public school system as the agent of society's civic mission.

THE CONTEMPORARY DEBATE ABOUT CITIZEN
PARTICIPATION: ENDS VS. MEANS

Regardless of whether direct or representative participation is the dominant mode in any particular period, parent participation in the governing of institutions remains a central value of our democracy. It is a right per se to be validated simply by its practice. Citizen participation is, in short, an end in itself. But questions have been raised as to the efficacy of governance-mandated parent participation in achieving other ends, i.e. academic achievement and development of self-concepts among students. Does participation improve the quality of education in our schools? For instance, in the decentralization of New York City schools during the late 1960's and early 1970's, the question of utilizing community participation was a central concern of many school principals and some citizens as well. Personal inference suggests that the more direct participation in the governance of the school, the more likely the concern for the relationship between governance and outcome, e.g. student achievement.

It seems clear in philosophical terms that citizens have a basic right to participate in and to govern public institutions such as the schools. It is one thing to be guaranteed that right, and it is quite another to judge the appropriateness or quality of such participation against criteria of specific educational outcomes and goals. A central question emerges: Is citizen participation an end in itself or is it also a means towards chosen ends? In the last analysis, it is probably both. Some educational outcomes such as human growth are developmental processes. Unless the objectives for which the institution is responsible are clarified and responsibilities to the interested parties are determined, discussions of effectiveness are too broad and diffuse to meaningfully affix accountability.

Therefore, the concept of accountability has been developed to express the present-day relationship between parents and school officials in which the authority to determine educational objectives has been located within the lay-community of consumers. This "authority" delegates to the professionals-producers the task of realizing these lay-community determined objectives. Citizens and parents thus reserve the right to expect that their children will learn to read; and

what is more, they have the accompanying prerogative to hold their children's teachers to account should their children not be able to read.

During those times in which schools are perceived by the community as fulfilling their charge, such prerogatives are generally held in abeyance and schools are allowed the correspondent license to regulate themselves. In short, the representative or elitist approach to lay participation is taken. However, in other periods, such as this, when public schools and other educational institutions appear to be falling behind the community's aspirations, a more classical approach to participation is taken. Direct citizen involvement increases; parents call teachers into account; and administrators are charged with organizational failure.

A more active period of citizen participation, stimulated by the postwar baby boom and by calls for educational support to returning veterans, began to emerge in the late 1940's and early 1950's. The 1954 Supreme Court decision, finding measurable dysfunctions in segregated school systems, further stimulated demands for open access to education of real quality. In 1957 Sputnik transformed demand into virtual furor. Improving education became the answer to national industrial needs and the cutting edge of international competition.

The activist period of the 1960's created yet another social context for returning to a more classical form of participation in almost every governmental process. Calls begun during the 1960's, and continuing throughout the "quieter" 1970's, ask for further clarification of human rights, as applied to minority groups (which include the elderly and handicapped) and to the socially disadvantaged (which includes women).

All these trends have converged on the schools, resulting in the emergence of a whole range of types of community participation. PTA's, parent associations, parent advisory units, parent volunteers, home room mothers, community councils, home tutors, paraprofessionals, community boards, home education: all these appear lumped into one emerging concept of community participation in the schools. Consequently, the term "community participation" has come to identify any form of

citizen involvement, from district residents' control over program planning and administrative decisionmaking, to the establishment of lay advisory groups, to parental choice among program offerings, to increased participation in parent/teacher councils, to the organization of home tutors and in-house school volunteers. We must distinguish among the different types of community participation if we are to study its effects on students' achievement and concepts of self-worth. Furthermore, we must define and delineate these differences if we are to formulate educational policies that are responsive to the current accelerated call for community participation.

THE EVIDENCE: INVOLVEMENT AND STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT

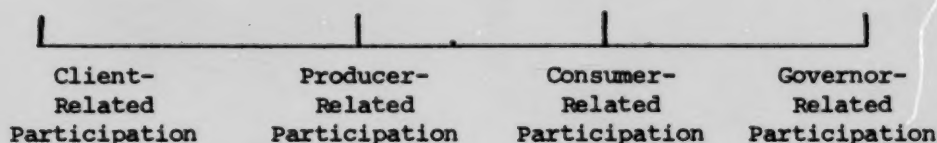
Two key terms are, of course, involvement and achievement. In particular, the current debate about the instrumental works of involvement begs a more precise definition of what kind of involvement is at issue, of what the nature of the "good" -- student achievement -- means, and what the connection is between kinds of involvement and achievement.

Kinds of Involvement: A Typology

Families are involved with schools in many different ways. Thomas A. Liechty (1979)*, for example, identifies five types of educational participants within a county school district, ranging from "Inactives," to "Voters," to "Parents" (meaning those engaged in elective activities and cooperative endeavors), and "Activists" (meaning those responsible for cooperative activities and dynamic endeavors). Participation, clearly, is not the same across the board. There are other typologies. Salisbury (1980) makes a distinction between expressive-supportive and instrumental-purposive participation. The latter dimension corresponds to the more political, governance-related aspects of the Activist or Citizen roles

* Inasmuch as the different contributors to this collection repeatedly refer to the same body of literature, all works cited are referenced in one Bibliography at the end of this collection.

as defined by Liechty. Different typologies may be introduced and refined ad infinitum. What is needed, however, is a typology which focuses on involvement in curriculum decisionmaking. To this end, we can distinguish, first, between citizen involvement in the labor of instruction (or actual teaching), and involvement in academic administration and policymaking. This distinction allows us to divide the general phenomenon of active participation into two principle areas of intervention dealing, respectively, with child development and school governance. This primary division can, in turn, be subdivided within a framework placing participants in differing positions along an overlapping four-part continuum. This continuum allows us to see participants as clients on one end and decisionmakers or governors on the other end.



An examination of these four possible roles -- client, producer, consumer and governor -- is presented below.

(i) Parents as Clients: Participation for Public Relations. In this dimension, schools view parents and other community people as clients and offer participation in school affairs as a privilege, not a right. When parents are viewed as clients and only as clients, schools mount a campaign of controlled information to maintain a favorable image. A PTA may be asked to plan social activities or other events such as a "teacher's day" or a specially scheduled "education week" complemented by talent shows or meet-the-staff nights. School administrators participate in various civic meetings to "inform" the community on the state of education in their schools and to interpret the school programs to the community. A similar function is served by a school paper which reaches the community and describes, mainly in positive terms, the programs of the school. The natural intent of public relations is, after all, to control communication in such a

way that the good news is emphasized.

It is also a natural part of public relations to encourage the participation of the client, but to encourage it specifically in ways that are acceptable to the school. Under a successful school public relations program, parents are made to feel that the school has things under control, and that they can feel confident that their children are in good hands. If parents and other community residents feel confident about school administrators' handling of the schools, there is usually little reason for any other kind of participation. The attitude is summed up as "After all, we pay professionals to do their job, and if they do well, fine." A parent is invited to the schools only for the regularly scheduled "public relations" events or if his/her child, for any reason, is having difficulty.

(ii) Parents as Producers: Participation for Instructional Support. The key term is support. Parents are involved in the curriculum and in the direct affairs of schools in a supportive capacity as school volunteers, paraprofessionals, hall monitors, tutors, clerical aides, library assistants, lunchroom assistants, and student club assistants (this listing is illustrative only and is not meant to be exhaustive). In this area of involvement, participants are viewed as producers and their participation efforts seek to increase the base of talent within the school by tapping community resources.

In many instances, this participation is voluntary, pro-bono, and embodies the kinds of activities undertaken by PTAs and women's groups that Salisbury (1980) refers to as expressive-supportive participation.

In other instances, as in the paraprofessional programs, parents are paid participants in school affairs. Under these "new career" efforts (Pearl and Riessman, 1965), community residents who are usually economically disadvantaged are "trained" to assume roles in the school as paid teacher aides or teacher assistants. These paraprofessionals assume such duties as: supervising lunch-time and recess activities; operating audio-visual equipment; assisting children with homework; tutoring in specified skill areas; assuming the teacher's clerical functions; preparing materials used in teaching and demonstrations; correcting homework; assisting students at home in subjects

requiring special competency (e.g., mathematics, history, biology); and working with small groups in special technical areas like plastics, electronics and design. Paraprofessional programs help community residents earn a living as well as learn something about their schools. The paraprofessionals become important links to the community and are able to reach parents and students who otherwise might not be contacted.

In yet other instances, schools make use of institutional resources "out there" in the community. For some years, individuals from business and industry, for instance, have come to schools as occasional "visiting teachers." In some schools, much of the education takes place in the community itself, outside the four walls of the classroom. Such "schools without walls" (for example, in Philadelphia, Chicago, Berkeley, Hartford) have students use the resources of the community -- hospitals, museums, cultural centers, scientific institutions, publishing firms, insurance firms -- as "classrooms."

Our focus, however, is on parental involvement. And, as will be shown below, there is evidence that producer involvement does lead to increased student achievement: the more participation is related to actual instructional activities, the more participation results in increased student achievement.* Quite obviously, there are limits to the number of participants any school or, indeed, any system can accommodate according to the nature of the task the participants are involved in. Economic crises, however, stimulate and may even necessitate volunteer programs, occasioning a re-examination of community resources for ways in which these resources may be linked to the educational

* Individual, custom-made learning contracts have seen the involvement of parents and professionals as partners in designing instructional programs. In this approach, each student is provided with a tailor-made learning sequence which is the result of a cooperative team planning effort that takes place in the home as well as the school, and taps the resources of parents and all school personnel (teachers, counselors, psychologists, etc.). Both parents and school officials agree on the "best" plan for the child, and all participants jointly sign an agreement to implement the contract. Parents often assume specific instructional roles in this educational process, performed both in the home and community.

process. Hence, it will be no surprise to find participation in instructional support on the rise in the future.

(iii) Parents as Consumers: Participation and Community Service.

In this instance, the participant's role consists of being an active, intelligent, and informed consumer. The school is seen as the center of the community, offering to its members, young and old, a range of services after school, in the evenings, and on weekends. Viewing parents as well as children as their customers, school officials in support of community service have extended their afternoon programs for children into evening programs for adults. These programs may be academic, vocational, or avocational in nature: drama clubs, child-care training, literacy classes, etc.

This sort of participatory system speaks to an elementary economy of time as well as space, making maximum use of the school's existing structure and available time. Not limited to just a segment of the population but open to the total citizenry, this participatory system transforms the public school into a true community school. In this way, a community school serves more than a social, recreational, or strictly academic function. Parents can use the school to discuss and plan civic programs. Community schools can serve as forums for solving a variety of community problems such as school integration, urban renewal, family relocation and the organization of indigenous neighborhood leadership. What is more, daytime students can become involved in any of these evening seminars as a phase of the citizen career orientation which emphasizes participatory behaviors.

(iv) Parents as Governors: Participation for Accountability and School Governance. This participatory system is rooted in the democratic ethos which, despite the contrary ethos of professionalism, continues to inform our public policymaking in all areas including schooling. The warrant for and the political nature of this latter role of parents as governors can be seen in terms of three putative rights: the right to hold public officials accountable; the right to choose which institutions may assume the mantle of in loco parentis; and the right to organize and express the parents' interests. These three putative rights can be termed the rights of accountability, choice, and expression.

(a) Accountability: Public education in the United States is not exclusively a completely professional matter. The community's role as trustee is a central tenet which is accomplished in a variety of ways: from the re-emphasis on local control, to the mandating school boards and school committees who set policy, and to the decentralization of decisionmaking, especially in the larger cities. The role of the citizen in the governance of the school and the role of the parent in the governance of education have been alluded to previously. Schools have attempted to respond to the call for increased accountability in school governance by establishing patterns which are consultative in nature, and by referring to community groups and parents for opinions on a variety of matters. Formal, lay commissions such as councils can act in an advisory capacity and offer advice on all policies and all decisions relative to the operation of the school on a more regular basis. In other instances, these lay commissions assume an actual authoritative function.

(b) Choice: Choosing the In Loco Parentis. In this instance, the family itself becomes legislator, as well as ultimate selector, of the kind of education most suitable to its members. The latter process is implemented through an educational voucher mechanism. Each family, which is presumed a purchaser or consumer of the state's educational services, is granted a voucher equivalent to the cost of a year's education, and is thereby free to shop around for the style of schooling it desires.

(c) Expression: Participation for Crisis Resolution. This represents a familiar but easily overlooked form of community participation which occurs when the school or school system faces a major problem. We are all familiar with problems -- such as double sessions, racial conflicts, school bussing plans, program cutbacks in interscholastic athletics, or strikes -- which trigger substantial community concern. Usually, when these issues are discussed, school auditoria are filled to capacity with concerned parents. In these cases, the participants have strong feelings about the issues at hand. Their participation is aimed at the immediate resolution of

the crisis. At times, this large showing of community participants continues, often in a hectic manner, until something is done about the discontent.

Student Achievement

We now return to the important correlative of community involvement -- student achievement. Before the correlation between community involvement and student achievement can be examined, more precision is needed about what is meant by student achievement. Also, more information is needed about what other factors, apart from parental involvement, contribute to improved achievement. Until and unless more is known about these "other factors" not much can be claimed about the effects of any kind of parental involvement on student achievement.

Recent studies on what accounts for differences in achievement were spurred, in part, by Coleman (1966) who found that, even when black students' access to educational resources was almost equal to that of their white counterparts, the scholastic performance of the black students was substantially below that of the white students. Subsequent re-analyses of Coleman's data have produced inconclusive results. Some studies support the original interpretations while others offer serious challenge.

Madaus (1979), for example, finds evidence that directly contradicts the conclusions of the Coleman report. In a long-term, large-scale longitudinal study of schools in Ireland, results suggest that differences in school characteristics such as academic atmosphere and activities significantly affect student achievement. Furthermore, this study found that individually designed tests are more accurate and sensitive indicators of school achievement than standardized tests, warning us against misinterpreting previous data which are based on standardized test results. While differences in the school systems of Ireland and the United States must be allowed, Madaus' study does permit us to define factors in the schools such as a climate of high expectations and a commitment to high academic values in the schools which significantly influence student achievement.

In reviewing the literature on effective schools, Ron Edmonds (in press) bears out these conclusions. Edmonds also concludes that student family background has no clearly predictable influence on the effectiveness of elementary school instruction. Furthermore, he defines several essential elements as determinants of student achievement, including high expectations for students and the creation of an atmosphere conducive to learning.

Student Achievement and Parent Involvement

Two caveats are in order. First, we are dealing with a limited number of studies. Second, the issue is extremely complicated methodologically.

Jencks (1972), in reassessing Coleman's data, did find that levels of PTA attendance do correlate significantly with student achievement: children of parents belonging to local PTAs scored, in both reading and mathematics tests, between two and four months above those children whose parents did not regularly attend meetings. But causality is difficult to attribute. James Filipczak (1977) reminds us that, while advantages to involvement are claimed to be numerous, the causal linkages between an increase in involvement and the subsequent benefits are not often clearly stated, with the possible exception of a group of studies in the field of parent training. There is, in short, a serious lack of data on the effects of increased parental involvement in the schools. Like Filipczak, Stearns and Peterson (1973) have concluded that evidence of the success or failure of parent involvement in bringing about improved school performance in children is extremely limited.

Stearns and Peterson, however, do verify our basic premise that we must discriminate among the forms which participation takes. Regarding Federal programs that require parent involvement (including the "Right to Read," "ESEA Title I," "Follow Through," and the "Bilingual/Bicultural Program"), they observed three manifestations of parental activity: parents as tutors of preschool children and school-age children; parents as paid school employees; and parents as administrative advisors and decisionmakers. Stearns and Peterson further observed a phenomenon that now appears generalizable: no

direct evidence was found to confirm or reject the basic hypothesis about the impacts of parents as school employees or decisionmakers on children, although there is evidence of benefits among the participating adults. Stearns and Peterson do suggest, however, that the role of "parents as tutors" (in our typology, parents as producers) does have some effect on improved learning.

Other studies show these effects of parent teaching on improved children's learning. For example, during the 1960's, a number of parent-focused intervention programs brought community members into direct teaching relationships with preschool and school-age children. Research on these programs indicates that such relationships typically show a greater impact upon actual achievement than do the more formal PTA/governance relationships which, by and large, affect the child's self-concept rather than the child's learning per se. Watson (1977), for instance, evaluated an experimental school curriculum that focused on community involvement in Gainesville, Florida. Examining pre- and post-study achievement scores on six sections of the Scholastic Achievement Test, Watson found generally higher scores among high community-involved students, with a significant increase in language achievement. A study coordinated by Audrey Jackson (1974) for the Dade County Public Schools, and validated by North Carolina University, corroborated Watson's findings with evidence that for each two and one-half months of tutorial assistance provided by a community volunteer, students' reading and math scores, as measured by the Metropolitan Reading and Math Test, gained one and one-half years.

Theodore C. Wagenaar (1977), from Ohio State University, conducted a similar study to investigate the relationship between school achievement and community support. Wagenaar's hypothesis was that schools that experience high levels of community involvement have higher achievement levels than those experiencing low levels of involvement and support. Data were gathered from official documents made available by the school system, and questionnaires were sent to principals in a sample of 135 elementary schools. Findings indicated that several dimensions of community involvement and support have a moderate positive relationship with achievement in both high and low socioeconomic status schools, but no direct relationship was

found between achievement level and community participation in decisionmaking.

Wanda Harris Baker (1971), in her work at the University of Southern California, concluded that parent participation influences the learning environment, which is related to learner change, to a significant degree. Spencer (1978), in an evaluation of a family school program conducted at the University City School District in University City, Missouri, reports data supporting the hypothesis that a significant relationship exists between family involvement and reading achievement. Armor (1976) reported on the role of parents in aiding schools to implement successful reading programs. Between 1972 and 1975, poor black and Mexican-American sixth grade students in 20 elementary schools in Los Angeles showed significant increases in reading scores. Students, Armor reported, in black neighborhoods fared better in reading achievement in schools where there were vigorous school efforts to involve parents in community and school decisionmaking. In a review of programs in which parents stay at home as volunteers, Judith Maethner (n.d.) reports that educators in St. Cloud, Minnesota, have developed an ongoing home-based program involving parents as tutors for their own children. Mothers, fathers and grandparents of over 50 percent of the students in participating schools have been trained to assist their youngsters in mathematics as a supplement to the normal school curriculum. As a result, student achievement in this area has jumped significantly. Berlin and Berlin (1973) validated Maethner's conclusions with findings pertinent to Head Start programs nationwide. School programs of remediation, they found, showed no lasting effect, except for children whose mothers became directly involved in the classroom process. They also point out the functional relationship between improved school achievement and improved self-concept in children. In order to continue parent involvement in the education of children, the authors suggested that the schools embark on a parent effectiveness training program which might enhance the role of parents as educators of their children.

There is, however, one study which does suggest that extraordinarily high levels of community involvement may lead to increased student achievement. Guttentag (1972) sought to assess the impact of

community control in one of the demonstration schools -- Intermediate School (I.S.) 201 in Harlem -- in New York City's community control experiment in the late 1960's. Guttentag asked: Did children in I.S. 201 learn any more than they had prior to the advent of community control in that school? Using 1971 achievement test data, Guttentag found that: (i) I.S. 201 children compared well with children in other city schools which were not community controlled; (ii) one grade at I.S. 201 surpassed national norms in reading; (iii) reading levels in all grades at I.S. 201 held up in 1968-69 at a time when citywide reading levels fell; and (iv) achievement test mean scores rose between 1969 and 1971. Achievement improved over the three year period of the community control experiment at I.S. 201.

Summary: Implications for Research

The case of I.S. 201 may be sui generis. High levels of intense parental involvement in the demonstration schools may have triggered more parental involvement in the instructional process itself. Or, the sense of community control, as perceived by children, may have contributed to improved self-concepts among children, thereby, indirectly, affecting their academic achievement. Guttentag's data do lend support to this latter hypothesis. She found, for example, that I.S. 201 children appeared to be significantly more 'related-to-others' than was the case with comparison children in non-community controlled schools. In I.S. 201, children placed credit and blame for their success or failure on teachers, on parents, and on schools, rather than on themselves. This strong "other-orientation" may well be related to external control attitudes thought to be central to feelings of fate-control and, therefore, related to self-concept formation.

In general, however, there is little research support for the efficacy of parental involvement as "governors-decisionmakers" on student achievement. This evidence suggests the importance of distinguishing types of parental involvement. The continuum presented in this section situates indirect-representative types of citizen action at one end and direct-classical types of democratic commitment at the other, and it makes a further subdivision that sets intervention for school governance apart from parental intervention for

immediate child-development and educational service. Of equal importance in themselves, these two diverse forms may be found to have very unequal bearing upon actual academic performance and individual achievement. The distinction is, therefore, significant and perhaps even crucial. In a democracy, community participation in governance is a valued right and a political act to be guarded for itself as well as for any subsequent benefits for students which it may incur. As such, community involvement -- whether direct or representational -- requires no further justification, discussion or proof. On the other hand, our review of the evidence suggests that the phenomenon of parent participation and its effects on student achievement (including reading, writing and the development of self-concepts) does require continued exploration as well as clearer and more careful delineation.

First, we must continue to explore the various forms of citizen involvement in education. Client, producer, consumer, governor -- these separate patterns provide a conceptual framework isolating different forms and allowing us to identify them more clearly. But we must also look at the connections between these theoretical concepts and clarify, in practical terms, the relationships between the different forms of communication. Liechty's research (1979) supports the natural intuition that different citizens will opt for different roles within a given system of school-community interaction, but these different roles and their inter-relationships must be delineated more precisely. We have defined one role of the parents in the schools as producers, involved in the labor of teaching. Available evidence does support the general belief that increased instruction does indeed result in an increase in student achievement.

But, second, we have yet to determine whether it makes any difference to the child if it is parents, paraprofessionals, or professionals who provide the additional instruction. Can parents be educated for involvement in education? Projects such as "Parents Are Teachers Too" provide parents with materials, activities, and techniques for interacting with young children. The education of parents in areas related to school governance is suggested by the "Parent Education Follow Through Projects" (Gordon, 1978). But overviews of these programs' goals and activities do not give us the complete

picture. The current situation calls for further study, resting on definitions of the different types of parental involvement in education, and delineations of the limitations and potential of these different roles.

Third, what is the relationship between parent participation in the schools and academic motivation in children? How do parents function as role models for their children, and what is the effect of various parental role models on the child's behavior and achievement in school? Edmonds (in press) and Madaus (1979) both claim that the expectations of the school and the attitudes of the students are crucial factors in the determination of classroom achievement. How do parents affect these expectations and attitudes?

Fourth, there is a closely related question of fate-control. The Coleman report (1966) concluded that the extent to which an individual feels he has control over his fate is a crucial factor in determining school success and apparently has more of a relationship to the child's achievement in school than school-related factors. What, then, determines an individual's sense of fate-control? In the realm of education, can community participation affect the individual's sense of controlling and directing his own destiny? Do parents involved in the education of their children feel an increased sense of fate-control? In particular, does governance-related participation among so-called powerless groups in society have significant impact on the sense of fate-control of parents and children in that group?

Fifth, future studies on the role and effect of community participation must provide critical background information if they are to prove useful in formulating educational policies. The background of the students, the parents, and the school community should be described, as should the roles of the professional educators and support staff in the schools. The actual substance of each community involvement project must be carefully outlined, including information on the amount, nature, and frequency of parent participation. Procedures used to measure the outcome and to record the results must also be explained. Another crucial factor in any research on community participation is consideration of the relationship of the activity to other ongoing activities in the schools and in the homes. The identity of

the person conducting the research becomes a legitimate concern. A white male working with female subjects, for instance, or a white male working with a population of black children, may affect research simply by virtue of who he is. We also need to be aware of situational analysis in research. When citizens are engaged in fighting a bureaucracy, for instance, much of their energy is expended in defensive measures, yet they are judged as if they were fully and freely involved in school-community projects. When parents are in the midst of a political or economic crisis, they are not in a normal situation, yet our patterns of participation always assume conditions of normalcy. The context in any given situation must be considered in taking the measure of any mode of participation.

Finally, the models of community participation studied in the literature were in the process of development rather than being fully operational systems. In some instances, the research project and the program of parent participation actually began simultaneously. Parents were sometimes in the midst of receiving special training for their active participation in the schools, and had not yet had time to learn their roles when the research began. Since the patterns of participation in these instances were still evolving, the studies, in effect, were assessments of developmental patterns, and not analyses of ongoing programs. We must take this into account when we look at the results of such studies, and when we plan future research strategies. Therefore, we must look to other disciplines, such as anthropology, for our models of research, especially with the governance-related patterns of participation. While governance is a right per se, we must also look at the role it may have in affecting student achievement. Governance-related participation involves making decisions and formulating policies. The effects of decisions take time to emerge, and the implementation of policies is also effective only in time. Therefore, studies of governance-related participation must be longitudinal, extending over long periods of time.

CONCLUSION

The review of the literature thus far leaves one to make the

following tentative conclusions. Of the two basic patterns of community participation, participation for school governance shows no significant impact upon school achievement, except, perhaps, insofar as the self-concept of the children of individual governing parents is concerned. Such children do seem to exhibit an enhanced self-image, though even that evidence is inconclusive.

On the other hand, the pattern of involvement which focuses directly upon the education process itself, and finds the parent a participating educator, does show a relationship to school achievement in reading and mathematics as well as in self-concept. The result is a trend toward greater efforts in the training of parents as teachers and a continued rise in school community volunteer efforts. The closer collaboration of the home and the school in the affairs of improving school achievement is similarly gaining greater support.

In the aftermath of reviews of the Federal intervention programs of the 1960's and 1970's, it is safe to conclude that the more the scholastic objectives are clarified, and the more the participants are prepared to assume roles in the instructional process, then measurable differences in academic performance will be more likely. The more global the forms of participation in the governance of schools become, the less likely will there be consequences on the scholastic performance of students, with some noticeable exceptions. The trend toward increased participation, however, is not only continuing in the Federal programs requiring increased parent participation, but also in states such as California and Florida that have mandated participation at the individual school level. The formation of parent councils and district-wide advisory councils is, in part, a response to the call for increased accountability. Such councils, combined with increased parent-as-educator models of participation, are now being viewed as contributing maximally to increased performance on the part of students, as well as to a new responsiveness on the part of school officials to the aspirations of the communities they serve.

SECTION THREE

PARENTS AND TEACHERS TOGETHER: DIRECTIONS FOR

DEVELOPING EQUALITY IN LEARNING THROUGH

ENVIRONMENTS IN FAMILIES AND SCHOOLS

Robert L. Sinclair and Ward J. Ghory

Robert L. Sinclair is Professor of Education and Director of the Center for Curriculum Studies at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst. Ward J. Ghory is Coordinator of Program Development and Evaluation of the Urban Education Pilot Project, Cincinnati (Ohio) Public Schools.

If it were possible to look at family and school surroundings through the eyes of children, clear visions of how to seek excellence in educational environments and greater equality in learning might be seen. Children have opportunities to observe the conditions of each setting and to realize the impact resulting from both spheres of influence. The adults -- parents and teachers -- also should have access to views of this landscape for learning. However, strained communication, conflicting roles, and other persistent barriers separate those adults from each others' domains. Although parents and teachers have collective responsibility for children's education, they seldom share a grip on both family and school environments that can tap the potential all children have for learning.

ONE-WAY STREET: UNEQUAL AND DISJOINTED LEARNING ENVIRONMENTS

Educators who are developing curricula must realize the counter-productive nature of the present relationship between families and schools. For example, conditions in both settings often work at cross-purposes so that what children accomplish in one place is stifled or "unlearned" in another. It is important for parents and teachers to join together to eliminate dysfunctional aspects of

learning environments, to reinforce conditions that have a positive impact, to maintain contrasts that contribute to academic competence, and to create new blends that encourage learning (Barth, 1979; Dolan, 1978).

There is mounting evidence that the family is vital to, and intimately linked with, school learning.* Yet, a focus on family environment is seldom included in the development of school curriculum. To ignore this homeground is to overlook variables that can be altered to increase the ability of children to learn.**

Typically, the solution to inadequate academic stimulation in the family has been to bring the child into school at an earlier and earlier age in order to compensate for the lack of education provided by parents. This approach suggests that parents and conditions in families are the problem rather than part of the solution for educating children. In fact, early intervention seeking to replace or compensate for the perceived family differences in educating their children contributes to distance and conflict between parents and teachers. Moreover, attempts at supplanting the family result in children receiving mixed and conflicting messages about learning. A problem with the compensatory education model is that the creation of a separate curriculum without improving or altering variables in the ongoing family environment can generate academic and cultural contradictions that hinder learning. Unintended negative consequences of early intervention by schools are particularly burdening for children from low-income or minority environments; for them this gap between family and

* Three recent comprehensive literature reviews of the impact of home environment on school performance support this contention with primarily correlational evidence from eight countries and approximately sixty studies. Each review calls for experimental investigation of specific models of parent and teacher cooperation as a way to extend the correlational implications of current work. The reviews referred to include: Filipczak, Lordeman, and Friedman (1977); Goodson and Hess (1975); and Iverson and Walberg (1978).

** For examples of variables in home and classroom environments that are likely to influence school achievement see: Benjamin S. Bloom (1979).

school is larger and more difficult to negotiate. To better enable all students to learn at high standards, educators should revitalize rather than replace the contributions of the family.

This does not mean that the family should remake itself in the image of the school, or vice versa. Instead, it does imply that both places can become more effective in educating children. Parents and teachers can work together to form better environments in each setting and, in the process, build the conditions that increase learning. To that end, we suggest three major directions for improving the family-school relationship and thus developing productive environments for learning.

First, the term "curriculum" is defined to determine where parents and teachers should direct their attention in order to improve learning in families and schools. Second, some existing assumptions about education that separate families from schools are examined and new assumptions which can overcome this separation are proposed. Finally, a design for teaming both parents and teachers is suggested. This approach of teaming parents and teachers would encourage both groups to collaborate in building complementary learning environments for elementary school children.

DEFINITION: THE CURRICULUM AS AN ENVIRONMENT FOR LEARNING

In the menagerie of education's more curious creatures, few are as complex as the curriculum. Although the word is casually used in the literature and in discussions about schooling and education as if its meaning were fixed, a more careful consideration shows that different and distinct meanings are assigned to the term, "curriculum."

Our talks with students, teachers, principals, and parents*

* Perceptions of students, teachers, principals and parents were gathered by means of informal discussions between the authors and the participants. Care was given to insure that various grade levels, different cultures, and social class backgrounds were represented. Data were collected in different settings, including schools and classrooms, grocery stores, food cooperatives, homes, athletic events, and shopping malls. We simply asked people, "What do you think

suggest that, in practice, curriculum means different things to different people. To students, curriculum seems to signify homework, tests, and "all those classes." To many teachers it means printed materials, textbooks, goals, objectives, lesson plans, study sheets, and tests. Principals view curriculum as that which is taught by teachers and/or embodied in packaged curriculum programs and materials produced by publishing companies or curriculum committees.

Parents often consider the number and types of courses offered by the school to be the essence of the curriculum. The intention here is not to argue that one fixed definition is essential for improving the quality of curriculum in families and schools. Rather, the purpose is to structure a definition that reflects the reality of both settings. Such a definition would show where parents and teachers might come together in order to concentrate on the improvement of conditions in families and schools which would lead to the development of coordinated rather than contradictory learning environments.

It is most useful to conceive of the curriculum as consisting of a complex network of environmental determinants exerting an influence on the behavior of individuals. These determinants are those physical, social, and intellectual conditions that shape and reinforce children's behavior. For example, within family and school settings, learners are exposed to sequences of learning tasks, collections of learning materials, and the influence of individual personalities and collective norms.

Although many writers (Dewey, 1916; Anastasi, 1968; Bloom, 1976; Skinner, 1971) have described environment as a powerful determinant of behavior, we caution that not all of the environment should be considered "curriculum." The sources of family or school environment are

curriculum means?" The responses were written down and patterns among various groups were identified. Also, fifty statements describing the meaning of curriculum written by teachers and principals were reviewed to determine patterns. We did not intend to conduct a highly structured and controlled data collection and analysis. Rather, our purpose was simply to gain some insight into how various people viewed the meaning of curriculum. For a comprehensive overview of the problem of defining curriculum, see Daniel and Laurel Tanner (1975).

multiple and complex. They include, for example: the influence of architectural design; social and economic conditions of the neighborhood; historic and economic functions of schooling; the availability of resources; etc. The term "curriculum" is reserved for those environmental ingredients which have been deliberately shaped to create a context for learning. Freud's dictum, "where id is, let ego be," urged his patients to seize hold of the impulsive, contradictory, and irrational mix of pressures ruling their lives. In an analogous way, we urge "where unexamined environment is, let curriculum be" to suggest that curriculum consists of external conditions for learning that result from constructing and reconstructing environments in a purposeful manner.

Furthermore, the curriculum consists of environmental stimuli as perceived or interpreted by participating individuals. As Murray (1978) suggests, it is the child's perceptions of environmental conditions that guide his/her behavior. Children actively respond to environmental demands and expectations according to the ways they perceive them. Because the individual's perceptions of environment also serve as determinants of behavior, curriculum, in our definition, consists of the perceived (or internal) as well as the external conditions that either foster or hinder learning.

An extension of this definition into the concrete settings of families and schools reveals that curriculum can be more specifically characterized by three separate yet interrelated parts -- the expressed, the implied, and the emergent. The connections among these dimensions contribute to the dynamic nature of curriculum. Our definition, then, consists of external and perceived conditions for learning that can be further described in terms of their expressed, implied, and emergent dimensions.

The Expressed Curriculum

This dimension of curriculum is a written statement expressed in terms of intended learning objectives, learning opportunities, sequences of content, and evaluation procedures. The expressed dimension is the course of study or the syllabus, an acknowledged plan stating what is to be learned and describing how to teach and evaluate.

The academic disciplines are often the major data source for deciding the content of the expressed curriculum. This dimension is the "planned for" or pre-determined part of curriculum that is common in schools but is seldom part of the family environment. In the family, the expressed dimension seems to be limited to an acknowledged and often reinforced set of expectations for cultural understanding and proper behavior. Yet, sometimes parents and teachers combine efforts to plan and implement specifically designed learning conditions in the family. These activities or purposefully developed variables that are introduced into the family to encourage learning would also be considered as the expressed curriculum.

The Implied Curriculum

This dimension of curriculum consists of messages received by learners from physical, social, and intellectual environments. Similar to what is now known as the "hidden curriculum," this dimension includes signals given by the rules and traditions which are embedded as regularities in the ongoing way of life in a family or a school. Also, the implied dimension refers to unintended learning that results because of what is included or omitted in academic content that is taught. The conditions of the implied curriculum are further spelled out in those actions of children and adults which are only rarely verbalized or explained. The implied dimension is critical because the child's perceptions of the conditions that make up the habitats of the family and school result in a personal view that influences learning, either in a positive or negative way. For this reason, the perceptions of children toward their environment are the central data source for determining the implied curriculum. This dimension exists in both settings where children live and learn. Also, the implied curriculum results from contradictions children experience as they move back and forth between the family and the school.

The Emergent Curriculum

This dimension includes the ongoing alterations, adjustments, and additions that are made to insure harmony between the uniqueness of the individual child and the character of the curriculum. The "emergent," then, serves as a correcting measure, smoothing out and putting

the expressed and implied parts of the curriculum in line with each other and with children. In other words, the emergent dimension intervenes when there are excessive gaps between learners and the curriculum. It reduces chances of disconnection, unnecessary failure, and boredom. For this reason, the academic and personal nature of the single child is the major data source for the emergent dimension. This part of the curriculum exists in varying degrees of intensity within families and schools. The emergent dimension is necessary for building healthy curriculum conditions in either setting or between settings.

The Curriculum and Home and School Collaboration

Deliberately constructed environments for learning take into account these three related dimensions of curriculum. It is important for parents and teachers to recognize that where the expressed and implied curriculum support each other, learning is most likely to be effective: academic competence is developed, and preferred attitudes and values are formed and reinforced. Where the expressed and implied curriculum are in conflict, the implied dimension becomes dominant. It is not what is intended (what we talk about) but what we do (action we take) that becomes compelling for children inhabiting the environments that we consciously or unconsciously create for them. Where the expressed and the implied run counter to each other, children receive contradictory messages which can only be reconciled by parent-teacher cooperation in the creation of emergent curriculum. In each setting, therefore, the home and the school create curricula, respectively, that account for the differences in children's academic success. The definition we advance of curriculum as environments for learning opens a perspective that parents and teachers can use to form and blend conditions within families and schools in order to maximize learning. Also, an understanding of the three dimensions of curriculum provides direction for adults to splice together conditions from each setting to form a congruence that will benefit children. However, the application of this understanding requires leadership, and cooperation, on the part of families and schools. Action demands more than a definition alone, it also requires a new way of thinking about education in

families and schools.

CONCEIVING A CURRICULUM: SOME ASSUMPTIONS
ABOUT THE EDUCATION PROCESS

As professional educators assume increasing responsibility for the learning of children outside the family, a way of thinking that stresses a separation between family and schools starts to develop. In schools, as in hospitals, there is the expectation that education, like health, is a service provided by professionals when the child visits an institutional setting. In both instances, the role of parents is to depend on the professionals and their delivery of services, and not to provide a preventative, corrective, or supportive environment. Clearly, this way of thinking must be re-examined when certain client groups or individuals systematically fail to thrive under the institution's care. What follows, below, is a discussion of four key assumptions that are often made by parents and teachers about their roles in the educational process. A revised version of each assumption is proposed. The purpose of this dialectic is to build a foundation for an expanded way of thinking about the contributions of families and schools to the education of children.

Existing Assumption 1. Academic competence results from the successful completion of tasks under the direction of a teacher in a school.

This assumption suggests that the proper response to children who are not learning consistently is to provide more classroom instruction, either at an earlier age or for extended periods of time. These "compensatory strategies" were tried with limited success in recent years. Evaluations of early intervention programs that were school-centered showed that the immediate impact these programs have on learning decreases after the termination of the program, leaving little long-term increase in academic competence (Schaeffer, 1979). This lack of long-term success creates the puzzling necessity of re-teaching, at later stages, skills supposedly mastered in earlier years as a result of the compensatory intervention.

However, evaluations of early intervention programs that were family-centered find that the parents' provision of educational experiences has a long-term effect on academic achievement (Bronfenbrenner, 1974; Vopava and Royce, 1978]. Indeed, evidence shows that language development is the basis for academic competence, and that language development begins during infancy and can be influenced in a significant way through pre-school and early-school years. The data also show that experiences in the family are important variables for language development. It can be concluded, then, that family education of young children is a major contributor to the development of academic competence (Schaeffer, 1972).

If we recognize that the development of academic skills can be promoted by the family as well as the school, then we should attend to ways of increasing collaboration between both settings. The frame of reference used in developing programs to increase academic competence changes from a strict emphasis on classroom intervention to an "extended" emphasis on family-school cooperation. Teachers in classrooms can coordinate their curriculum with parents working on parallel purposes in families. Hence, a new assumption emerges.

New Assumption 2. Academic competence results from the successful completion of a broad range of activities both in families and in schools, particularly as these activities are reinforced through the interactions of the child with both parents and teachers.

Linked to this shift of perspective from school intervention to family and school collaboration is another existing assumption about the decisionmaking responsibilities of parents and teachers.

Existing
Assumption 2.

Teachers are primarily responsible for decisions about the academic (mainly cognitive) growth of children in school, while parents are expected to make the major decisions about the physical and social or emotional development of children in the family.

One cause for the general failure of parents and teachers to work jointly on improving education in families and schools is the assumption that they have basically different responsibilities. In effect, it is thought that there are few decisions which they can or should make together. This view leads each group to retreat to and defend their own separate spheres of territory and control (Lightfoot, 1978: 25-30). Teachers, who are responsible for academic growth, turn the classroom into a domain where their decisions can be made and implemented without fear of parental interference. If teachers welcome parents into their classrooms, they usually ask them to observe or to perform mundane chores. Their presence is considered temporary and peripheral to the classroom experiences of children. In the same way, parents create an inviolate space within their families, with customs and traditions that teachers are generally not permitted to view or participate in, much less question. As a result, parents often refrain from visiting the school, because it is hard to accept being excluded from a part of their child's world. So, too, teachers rarely visit families where they presumably have no appropriate role.

However, when parents are viewed as having important information about children and are viewed as making lasting contributions to the development of academic competence, a basis for working together can be created. A recent review of twenty-four pilot and experimental programs makes it clear that family-based reinforcement of school behavior is proving to be an efficient and effective method for motivating children to overcome some of their most persistent difficulties (Barth, 1979). When what parents and families can contribute to increased academic competence is recognized, a new assumption can be made about the sharing of decisionmaking responsibilities.

New Assumption 2. As the persons who are closest to the learner, parents and teachers together should design and implement educational environments that will assist children in their cognitive, affective, and physical development in the family and school.

Another existing assumption that prevents parents and teachers from taking action is the idea that little can be changed in the family to increase the academic competence of children.

Existing
Assumption 3.

The important variables in the family that affect academic competence are essentially inalterable.

This way of thinking acknowledges the importance of the family environment, but denies that variables in the family can be changed. For years, study after study of the sources of academic achievement attempted to correlate academic success or failure with relatively inalterable variables like cultural background, socioeconomic status (as measured by parental education, income, or occupation), family size, sibling order, etc.* Attempts were also made to relate intelligence measures to the same variables, suggesting that conditions which influence the learner in the family are givens with which educators must cope.

However, in the last twenty years, research approaches that emphasize socio-psychological or behavioral processes thought conducive to learning suggest that specific activities that parents perform with their children within the family can have a direct influence on academic competence. Some of the variables that have been examined include: encouragement of children to learn well, parental aspirations, the provisions for assistance in learning, and the organization of time and space for study. Recently, Iverson and Walberg conducted a quantitative synthesis of eighteen studies of the family environments of 5,831 children in eight countries. In their review, they found that parent stimulation of the child in the family showed a consistently stronger relationship with intelligence, motivation and achievement

* White (1976) reviews 100 studies relating socioeconomic status (SES) and achievement. In general, correlations of +.30 to +.50 were found between SES and achievement. See also Walberg and Marjoribanks (1976).

than did the measures of socioeconomic status.* The family variables measured by these studies are changeable; they have been identified as aspects of the environment that can be readily influenced by programs to support parent efforts to improve family settings (Dolan, 1978). The following revised assumption creates a basis for parents and teachers to determine conditions in the family to increase academic competence.

New Assumption 3. The important variables in the family environment that affect academic competence can be altered to support the learning of children.

Just as the family has been mistakenly viewed as a place where little could be done to influence the learning abilities of children, the school, also, has been seen as a setting that cannot be improved by educators initiating actions from inside the institution.

Existing Assumption 4.	The organizational conditions that hinder teachers from including the home environment as part of the curriculum are practically impossible to influence from inside the school.
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As members of hierarchical organizations, educators typically see change as coming from outside their own realm of control. For example, teachers look to the principals or department heads for the schedule; principals turn to the central office for curriculum; and central office administrators approach the school board for new policy guidelines. Given this perspective of looking elsewhere, the responsibility for improvement that educators can assume is undermined at each level, as are their feelings of competence and security. Educators tend to use the organizational variables they do control as a buffer against "outside" suggestions or assistance for improvement.

* Iverson and Walberg (1979). In general, the home environmental process variables, when combined, correlated to +.70 to +.80 with measures of school achievement involving reading, vocabulary and problem solving.

Paradoxically, there is a certain comfort when others are responsible for change, even when one is dissatisfied with current conditions. This comfort comes from knowing that an outsider is accountable and, at the same time, is not as knowledgeable as an insider about the conditions that need to be improved. Despite their initial protests to the contrary, teachers and school administrators will acknowledge that what happens in the classroom or school primarily depends on them. While change in organizational conditions may be limited or directed by decisionmakers outside the school, the people who bear responsibility for and actually implement improvements are inside.

It is unlikely, however, that efforts to genuinely include parents in curriculum development will be effective unless a shift occurs concerning the responsibility for change borne by the people closest to the teaching/learning process. Schools do exist that effectively combine family and school environments in curriculum planning. Furthermore, there are organizational means to permit parents and teachers to communicate.* But unless educators support and encourage individuals from their midst who take responsibility for altering organizational conditions, the school hierarchy will continue to breed system loyalists who use the institution as protection against improvement by shifting the responsibility for change to outsiders who cannot implement improvements without them. The assumption that schools cannot be improved from within to permit parents and teachers to collaborate must be revised as part of a positive way of thinking about the potential partnership of the family and school.

New Assumption 4. Teachers and administrators can provide leadership from inside the school to develop a curriculum that appropriately combines family and school environments.

* Some popular organizational strategies for this purpose include: hiring an additional staff person as a liaison between families and schools; organizing a school so that teams of teachers teach the same group of students and divide the responsibility to contact homes; and, sending notes home on a regular basis reporting progress on specific behaviors targeted by parents and teachers as priorities.

Correcting these four existing assumptions that separate families and schools opens the way to considering appropriate and viable teaming of parents and teachers. Both groups must reconsider and revise their assumptions and realize that: academic competence is fostered both in families and in schools; their counterparts have an appropriate role in making decisions about the child's development; variables in the family environment related to improving learning can be altered; and, the school can be reorganized from within to promote cooperation with the family. Most likely, agreement on these revised assumptions will be reached gradually, as the result of shared practical experiences in mutual projects. A proposed design that would translate these expanded ways of thinking into decisions about family and school environments for learning follows.

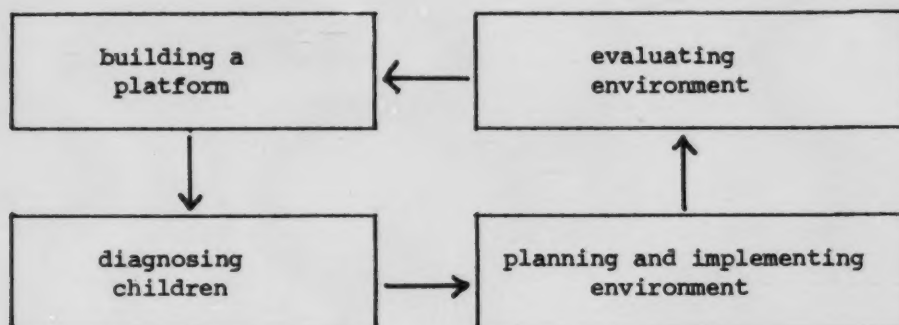
IMPLEMENTING A CURRICULUM: A DESIGN FOR PARENT-TEACHER TRAINING

Organized efforts by schools to involve parents can be categorized according to the five roles parents are expected to play (Gordon, 1970). First, the parents' most common role is as an audience -- for school newsletters, at PTA meetings, or during school visits. Second, parents work in schools as volunteers, as teacher aides or student chaperones. Third, parents are involved in schools as paid paraprofessional employees, often with a responsibility for organizing parent or community involvement programs. Fourth, parents have participated as policy-makers, frequently in an advisory capacity at the local school or in a legislative capacity as members of school boards. Fifth, parents are involved as direct and active teachers of their children in the family. Typically, parent education programs focus on helping parents learn more effective ways of working with their children.

These existing roles for parent involvement frequently maintain a certain distance between parents and teachers, a distance sometimes created by formal role definitions. Often, an implied superior-inferior relationship surfaces: sometimes parents are in control as policymakers; sometimes educators dictate to parental audiences. Rarely do parents and teachers collaborate on the basis of similar status and shared responsibilities. Few forms of involvement include

parents of those children most in need of increased collaboration. Parents who attend scheduled parent-teacher conferences are more likely to be parents of children exhibiting high success in school (Anchor and Anchor, 1974). Volunteer programs have been found to attract parents who have more positive attitudes and more sophisticated child management skills to begin with (Barnes and Zerbach, 1975). These findings suggest that, until parents and teachers can find ways to collaborate more as equals and bring different strengths and data to the common task of helping children learn, parent programs organized through the school will reach only a narrow audience.

Teaming, then, is one possible direction for promoting more productive mergers between parents and teachers. A design for teaming that includes four key educational functions is suggested here. This design to center parent-teacher collaboration on the learning of children is illustrated in the figure below.



Teaming is considered an ongoing process with four continuing functions. These functions are:

- Building a shared platform of educational values and expectations that establishes reasons for learning and guides the teaching process.
- Diagnosing a child's learning needs and characteristics to determine favorable curriculum conditions.
- Planning and implementing environments that will make desired learning possible.
- Evaluating the effectiveness of the learning environments that are created in families and schools.

Each function of the design is explained below. The functions are considered as part of a continuing cycle. Parents and teachers can start with any of the four functions to begin their collaboration. The third function -- planning and implementing environments -- receives more consideration because of its practical implications for revitalizing the home and improving the school curriculum.

Function One: Building a Platform

First, and most fundamentally, parents and teachers can team together to build a shared platform of educational values and expectations that will shape the settings they create for learning. Teachers need to understand the impact of the informal educational processes students are subject to within the family and community. For example, teachers of black children can learn to appreciate African-derived world views and values and can become more responsive to the adaptations children from any highly personalized culture must make in order to cope with the more regulated, impersonal, and standardized procedures of school bureaucracies. The "professionals" themselves must learn from parents about their students' cultures if they desire to adjust the school environment in order to take advantage of the informal variables that are a critical part of the way the child perceives and learns. As Bernstein (1971: 199) puts it, if the culture of the teacher is to become part of the consciousness of the child, then the culture of the child first must be in the consciousness of the teacher.

When parents send their children to a school that does not mirror the values and traditions of the child's family and community life, they apprehensively make an implicit deal with the teacher. In this arrangement, the teacher is to provide opportunities to learn skills and attitudes necessary for success in the mainstream culture. However, these opportunities can, and do, come, for many parents and children, at the cost of a certain portion of their family and community life. To master and internalize necessary academic and social skills, many children, to a degree, must "make themselves over" by altering their speech patterns, by reconsidering certain values, or by relaxing some previous connections to family and peers. Unless

parents and teachers can reach some agreements as to the importance of schools' curricula -- expressed and implied -- the arrangement can become a painful ordeal for the child. It can lead to a sense of not belonging in school or in the family.

The purpose of communication between parents and teachers about an educational platform is to allow both groups to enter a partnership with greater confidence. With mutual support, the children involved can become free to expand their skills and aspirations, authentically blending the cultural gifts and environmental strengths represented on either side by the family and by the school into an individually satisfying set of competencies and values. The greater the difference between family, cultural and school norms, the greater the need for parents and teachers to work hard at establishing a common platform of shared educational values and expectations. Such understandings between parents and teachers provide the child with a framework within which he/she can make some sense out of conflicting worlds at home and school instead of being forced into an either-or choice between the two settings. Yet, the building of a common platform often has been neglected. In most cases, parents and teachers must start at the very beginning. As Lightfoot (1978: 189) puts it:

Because they come together as strangers who share in the common task of education and socialization [teachers and parents] must engage in a relatively self-conscious and painstaking task of discovering each other. The process of learning about each other's values, styles and modes of communication may take relatively obscure and trivial forms at first, as parents, teachers and children begin to feel each other out. But the real message is not trivial; it is the initial phase of learning to act and interact in an authentic and meaningful way.

In short, one fundamental education function that can be accomplished through parent-teacher teaming is the establishment of a basic agreement about the appropriate learning for children. Instead of plugging parents into prescribed roles in a program the school has already developed, the school needs to involve parents in determining the reasons for education.

Function Two: Diagnosing Children

Parents and teachers also can team together in order to diagnose a child's specific learning needs and characteristics. This diagnosis

would determine skills and content to be learned and identify how each child learns best. Parents who are knowledgeable of the child's behavior in a context outside school could provide a corrective check and balance to a school-based diagnosis. It is important to blend results from paper and pencil instruments of a child's diagnosis or from classroom observations by teachers with the insights of parents who sample, by observation and informal talks, a wider range of behavior in the family setting. Through discussions, parents can learn more about developmental stages and the structure of subject matter and they can provide teachers with clues that might hold the key to unlocking this child's motivation to learn. If academic competence is a mixture of the mastery of prerequisite skills with the desire to learn well, the different viewpoints and data sources that parents and teachers can share will enrich their mutual understanding of the child and improve the effectiveness of their efforts to help children learn.

Function Three: Planning and Implementing Environments for Learning

The academic strengths and weaknesses and personal characteristics of children were identified in the previous function of teaming. Next, in this third part of the design, the resulting data are used to decide a planned curriculum.

(i) Basis for Planning. The expressed curriculum consists of conditions that parents implement in the family and teachers implement in the school. Of course, it is possible, however, to identify some conditions of families that are alterable and thus can be developed as part of the curriculum. For example, Bloom points out that recent studies have sought to identify what environmental conditions improve learning. The research shows that what parents do with children can be influenced, and the effects of such changes on the children's school learning are meaningful (Bloom, 1979: 14). According to Bloom, the most important factors are: contributions of parents to language development; encouragement of children to learn well; aspirations of parents for their children; provisions for assistance in learning when the child needs it most; and, ways in which time and space are organized. Bloom (1979: 13) concludes:

Such variables, when combined, correlate $+0.70$ to $+0.80$ with measures of school achievement. In general, the correlations are highest with school achievement involving reading, vocabulary, and problem solving and lowest with spelling and arithmetic computation. These results suggest that the home has greatest influence on the language development of the child, his general ability to learn, and his motivation to learn well in school. The home has least influence on specific skills primarily taught in the school.

It is clear, then, that curriculum in the family can be altered, that it can contribute to children's learning, and that it needs to be complemented by curriculum in the school. That is, the school should support the family learning emphasis and, at the same time, add conditions that assist children in the mastering of particular academic skills. One knotty problem that schools confront when they develop a complementary environment is that, while parents usually concentrate on individuals, teachers primarily interact with groups. It is theoretically possible, of course, to organize schools so that a single teacher engages with an individual child. Yet, the persistent reality is that a teacher faces a group. Nevertheless, experience suggests that there are differences in teacher-child interaction in schools that might make a difference in academic success for all children. We need more research on precisely what does make a difference. In any case, the context for teaching and learning should be characterized by: setting clear standards of excellence; providing help in learning when children need it most; emphasizing caring about the personal welfare of children; and, providing positive reinforcement and encouragement for children to learn in collaboration with parents.

(ii) Implementing. The design for teaming has special importance because it also includes some practical and concrete ways that parents and teachers can work together to implement coordinated learning environments which combine effects from the family and school. We will not suggest actions for realizing all of the family and school variables identified above. We will, however, consider implementation of some structured opportunities for learning and will suggest specific practices for reinforcing desired behavior.

We now know, for example, that structured opportunities for children to interact with a wide variety of people, and sources of stimulation, can contribute to language development (Williams, 1976:66-67). When teachers and parents provide supplemental books, take the child to the library or bookmobile, work with plants or gardens, or share organized activities like story-telling or recreation, measures of academic competence in language are likely to increase (Schaeffer and Edgerton, 1979). "Home learning recipes" developed by teachers to be implemented by parents -- specific, no-cost, written activities that reinforce and supplement instruction conducted in school -- represent another strategy. It has been shown that whenever these "recipes" have been sent to families on a regular basis in Title I, in bilingual or in suburban school communities, these basic skills activities have contributed to improved reading and math scores (Rich, et al., 1979).

Parents and teachers can also team together to improve the organization of time and space to study, either in the family or in school. If time and space are set aside and work the child can complete is provided, an increase in the amount of time spent on learning tasks is likely to pay dividends in improved learning. A further example of a structured opportunity to learn is the development of an early warning system in which either the parent or the teacher informs their counterpart that the child needs extra help. As Bloom (1979) notes, providing help when the child needs it most is an obvious way to avoid the development of learning errors.

In addition to structuring learning opportunities, parents and teachers can work together to implement reinforcement practices that motivate children to learn and behave well. Such reinforcement practices require some agreement among adults about the intensity with which they will reward children for learning. That is, the variety, frequency, amount, and kind of positive reinforcement they plan to provide should be discussed and decided. One direct way to provide reinforcement is for parents and teachers to target specific academic skills for improvement, and then schedule reinforcement practices in both settings to foster the desired behaviors. In his review of twenty-four projects using the approach, Barth (1979) reports consistent improvement on even the most persistent learning problems.

In another series of studies of the learning requirements of high achievement oriented families, Rosen (1959) suggests that motivation for achievement is generated by at least two kinds of family socialization practices which he labels "achievement training" and "independence training." He concludes that parents and teachers can promote high achievement by setting standards of excellence and by rewarding the child's persistence, concentration, and industriousness in reaching these levels. While achievement training aims to get children to do things well, independence training attempts to teach them to do things on their own. In the latter, parents and teachers can reach agreement as to what degree the environment should stress individual or collective behavior, and to what extent a future or a present orientation will be promoted. These decisions may prove to be complex and difficult, but they are necessary in order to prevent family and school environments from working at cross-purposes.

Function Four: Evaluating Environments

The fourth function points towards the evaluation of the learning environments created in families and schools. It encourages both groups -- parents and teachers -- to confirm the value of their approaches or to question and revise their initial ideas developed as a platform. Joint evaluations of the environmental conditions that they have implemented together also provide teachers and parents with a responsibility for visiting each others' setting. When an aspect of the environment that has been designed for a specific purpose (e.g., a home or classroom quiet study area) is being observed, there is an opportunity to demonstrate what has been accomplished. It becomes possible to build on the positive. Like any learners, parents and teachers need to arrive at points when they can visualize their progress. This part of the design for teaming provides information about family and school environments, and thus furnishes data which parents and teachers can use to compensate for deficiencies while working together to improve conditions in either setting. The evaluation function assists adults in determining through direct observation and informal discussion if what was planned for altering family and school settings was actually implemented. This joint evaluation would also

include the testing and observation of children to indicate academic gains that were accomplished during an established time period. Hence, parents and teachers would be kept informed about what children learned well and what still needs to be learned. If approached as a means for improvement, evaluation can be an occasion for generating renewed efforts to accomplish a common purpose of developing environments to increase children's learning.

CONCLUSIONS

The teaming design presented here includes four interrelated functions for helping children learn. Through teaming, parents and teachers move from building a platform of values and expectations to determining children's learning needs; they both move from planning and implementing environments to evaluating the effectiveness of conditions in families and schools. We are suggesting that teaming to carry out these functions is a missing element in the present roles parents and teachers play in educating children. Such teaming is absent in most schools' curriculum practices. Despite increasing knowledge of the joint influence of families and schools on learning, school curriculum is ordinarily developed without considering family conditions. The two settings are treated as separate entities. This is unfortunate because the coming together of families and schools is one means for improving learning for children from poor environments who are not meeting with high success in the existing curriculum. Bloom (1979: 13) reminds us that:

It is clear that when the home and the school have congruent learning emphasis, the child has little difficulty in his later school learning. But when the home and the school have divergent approaches to life and to learning, the child is likely to be penalized severely by the school -- especially when school attendance is required for ten or more years.

As a result, children are left alone to make sense out of serious conflicting pressures emanating from the places where they are expected to live and learn. Often the separation between families and schools results in young children being torn between loyalties to one place and demands from the other. In order, therefore, to rescue children

from such cross-pressures, we have presented three directions for collaboration among the adults who share responsibility for the education of children. First, it is our hope that the definition of curriculum as environments for learning will assist parents and teachers to identify dimensions of curriculum that they can develop in families and schools. Second, we have proposed a constructive way of thinking that consists of four new assumptions about educational roles of parents and teachers. These assumptions can bring adults closer together because they provide a basis for the shared improvement of environments. Finally, we have presented a design for teaming parents and teachers which identifies actions adults can consider when developing environments in families and schools. These three directions aid parents and teachers in establishing connections between the two settings that are crucial to children's learning. We recognize, however, that a common bond between parents and teachers seldom develops naturally or spontaneously. Hence, one priority in the years ahead will be the development of leadership that can bring these adults together as a constructive force for action. Because of their mutual concern for children, parents and teachers who are not separated will discover a commitment that can bind them together in the future -- they will insure opportunities in the family and school for increasing the number of children who reach equality in learning.

SECTION FOUR

EXPLORING FAMILY-SCHOOL RELATIONSHIPS:

A PRELUDE TO CURRICULAR DESIGNS AND STRATEGIES

Sara Lawrence Lightfoot

Associate Professor at the Harvard University
Graduate School of Education

All institutions that rear children have some systematic plan for what they want children to learn and how that might be accomplished. That is, all acculturating institutions have defined curricula. Sometimes these plans for learning are inexplicit, even unconscious, but they exist as part of the repertoire and rituals of families, churches, schools, libraries, television, museums, peer groups and a whole host of other settings where children grow.* Often we behave as if the school's curriculum represents the only systematic, well-articulated plan of learning in our society and that other institutions stagger along in a careless, diffuse fashion with no clear purposes or strategies. In fact, the opposite might be argued. Namely, that the school appears to be one of the least focused and efficient institutions of learning for children and that disagreements about goals and methods are most visible in this setting.

EDUCATION AND SOCIALIZATION: CONTRASTS IN CURRICULA

When the focus is on the school curriculum, the other competing or consonant curricular sources that confront children daily are

* For an excellent discussion of the multiple curricula confronting children, see Lawrence Cremin, "Changes in the Ecology of Education: The School and Other Educators." Unpublished manuscript, 1979.

often forgotten.* This certainly has been true in descriptions of family and school environments where social scientists have created a conceptual dichotomy of the child's existence into socialization and education; the former shaped by the family; the latter shaped by the school. Not only has this conceptual division permitted researchers to neglect the process of socialization within schools and education within families, but researchers have also failed to trace the continuities and discontinuities between family and school and their potential impact on the lives of children. Even those sociologists who have sought to analyze the intersections between the family and other institutions of acculturation have seemed concerned with how the various social systems are organized and constructed, not with their relatedness to one another.

In order to fully capture family-school interactions, families need to be seen as educative environments, places where children experience their first and most profound curricular messages. Rather than ask how parents might become involved in the curriculum of the school, an inquiry might be made about how the curricula of families and schools can be shaped to reinforce and expand upon one another. The first question would seem to imply a kind of asymmetry of power and knowledge between families and schools, an accommodation on the part of parents but not school people. The image of parents as supplicants looms large. The second question would seem to imply important, although different, sources of knowledge residing within families and schools and the need for reciprocity and mutual adaptation between them. In order to effectively attend to children in one setting, the adult sponsors would have to be aware of life in

* In a random sampling of relatively recent curricular guides for teachers, one finds no concrete discussion of whether or how parents might be involved in shaping curriculum, of the possibility of dissonance between teacher and parent views, or of the relevance of these differences of opinion to children's learning. For good examples of teacher guides that speak of curricula as materials that are "advance organized" by experts and interpreted by teachers for their particular classroom, see A.V. Keeley (1977) and Joe Frost, et al. (1969).

the other, see the child's experience as continuous, and seek an integration of educational realms.

But this latter image is highly idealized as life in both settings seems to become increasingly guarded and unapproachable. Families fight for privacy, are wary of the intrusions of social interventions, and turn inward to shield themselves from a heartless world.* And, architects build windowless schools that shield children's and teachers' eyes from the harsh realities outside and inhibit the inside view of interested parents. Schools become increasingly bureaucratized, teachers' unions more guarded and resistant, and the boundaries between family-school territories more deeply drawn.

Given these realities, the issue of parental involvement in the school's curriculum is an important, but second-order question. In my mind, a much more important analysis would search out the origins of conflict and distance between families and schools and offer some suggestions about ways in which these antagonisms might be resolved or channeled into productive disagreements. The nature of relationships between the adult sponsors obviously will have a great influence on curricular efforts in both settings, but the structure and goals of these curricula are expressions of the deep-seated values held by parents and teachers and are derivative of the roles each play in the lives of children. Understanding the different perspectives of parents and teachers would illuminate the more strategic questions of who becomes involved in designing and shaping the school curriculum.

Although parents and teachers are engaged in a complementary socio-cultural task, they often find themselves in great conflict with one another. Their adversarial relationship emerges out of their roles as they are defined by the social structure of society, not necessarily or primarily the dynamics of interpersonal behaviors.

* See Lasch (1977) for a forceful critique of social service care givers, moralists, and educators who, he claims, have assaulted the family's privacy and autonomy by increasing its dependency on the wisdom and resources of "outside experts."

Historically, there has been a potential conflict among the several institutions involved in the rearing of children. The controversy has taken a variety of forms and levels of intensity according to the time, place, and specific participants. Largely descriptive, rather than prescriptive, this section will explore some of the origins of such tensions and argue that we must learn to distinguish between the positive and negative forms of dissonance. The discussion will not be about children's views of family-school boundaries and relationships but about the perspectives of their adult sponsors. And, it will focus on elementary school settings where adults tend to take a greater role in negotiating for their children and feel more threatened by the territorial invasions from the other realm.

FAMILY AND SCHOOL: CONTRASTS IN STRUCTURE AND PURPOSE

Some of the discontinuities between family and school emerge from differences in their structural properties and cultural purposes. In other words, differences are endemic to the very nature of families and schools as institutions, and they are experienced by all children as they traverse the path from home to school. In describing the structural contrast between families and schools, for instance, sociologists have pointed to differences in the scope of relationships among the participants in these two spheres of the child's life. In families, the interactions are functionally diffuse in the sense that the participants are intimately and deeply connected and their rights and duties are all-encompassing and taken for granted. In schools, the interactions are functionally specific because the relationships are more circumscribed and defined by the technical competence and individual status of the participants. The relationships are not only differentiated in terms of scope, but also in terms of affectivity--the quality and depth of the personal interactions. There are contrasts between the primary relationships of parents and children and the secondary relationships of teachers and children. Parents have emotionally charged relationships with their children that rarely reflect interpersonal status or functional considerations. Children in the family are treated as special persons,

but pupils in school are necessarily treated as members of categories.*

Although sociologists have created clear conceptual distinctions between the structures and processes of life in families and learning in schools; children, parents, and teachers who are daily engaged in negotiations between these two spheres do not usually feel that the definitional boundaries are so clearly delineated. As a matter of fact, home and school more often appear as overlapping worlds with fuzzy boundaries, and much of the anxiety between parents and teachers seems to grow out of the ambiguities. The struggles for clarity and boundary setting are waged daily as parents and teachers argue (silently and resentfully) about who should be in control of the child's life in school. Although parents and teachers often seem to disagree about who has the right to govern a certain area of the child's life, usually teachers are forced to accept the parents' definition. The only sphere of influence in which the teacher feels that his/her authority is final and uncompromising seems to be with what happens inside the classroom. Behind the classroom door, teachers experience some measure of autonomy and relief from parental scrutiny, and parents often feel, with shocking recognition, the exclusion and separation from their child's world.** If teachers welcome the parents within their classrooms, they usually ask them to observe rather than participate, and they view their presence as temporary and peripheral to the classroom experiences of children.

The need for boundary setting and territoriality expressed by teachers does not always symbolize threatened feelings toward parents. In one study of an independent, progressive school (Lightfoot and Carew, 1974), teachers were given several in-depth interviews that

* For discussion of this structuralist perspective on families and schools see Parsons (1959: 297-318) and Dreeben (1968).

** The development of curricula most often happens behind closed doors and is usually viewed by teachers as under their legitimate and exclusive control. In this area, teachers sometimes feel compelled to justify their reasoning and activities to parents, but rarely feel the need to encourage the participation of parents.

included questions about how they perceived the legitimate role of parents in and around the school setting. The children attending the school were between the ages of three and six, and one might have anticipated more collaboration and interaction between teachers and parents in these early stages of development than in the later elementary school years. The teachers were unusually reflective, thoughtful, and conscious of their evolving relationships with children and parents. The school encouraged, in fact depended on, parental participation in fund-raising, class trips, and other extra-classroom affairs. The teachers' responses to this potential involvement of parents, however, showed that they were not merely concerned with establishing ultimate and uncompromising control over the classroom environment; their primary reasons for parental exclusion were embedded in their ideas about establishing an enduring and nurturing relationship with the children that would not be modified or entangled with the burdens and problems of home life. In one sense, they saw themselves as child advocates, protectors of the child's new domain, and they stressed the developmental and emotional needs for a clear and early separation between familial patterns and the demands made upon children in school.

The origins and motivations for territorial protection by parents and teachers are often entangled with negative and rigid stereotypes of one another. We also find, however, that the reasoned voices of some teachers offer educational justifications for creating separate school and family environments -- the clear delineation of home and school supports the positive socialization of young children. Territoriality, therefore, seems to be motivated by both positive and negative reasoning. Ironically, the need for fence building seems to grow out of the ambiguity of roles and relationships. The ambiguous, gray areas of authority and responsibility between parents and teachers exacerbates the distrust between them. The distrust is further complicated by the fact that it is rarely articulated, but usually remains smoldering and silent. One way of easing the tension would obviously be by clarifying areas of responsibility and competence between parents and teachers and providing effective modes for communicating distrust and relieving anxiety.

One of the reasons why the struggles over territoriality are rarely articulated, clarified, and resolved is because there are very few opportunities for parents and teachers to come together for meaningful, substantive discussion. In fact, schools organize public, ritualistic occasions that do not allow for real contact, negotiation, or criticism between parents and teachers. Rather, they are institutionalized ways of establishing boundaries between insiders (teachers) and interlopers (parents) under the guise of polite conversation and mature cooperation. Parent-Teacher Association meetings and open-house rituals at the beginning of the school year are contrived occasions that symbolically reaffirm the idealized parent-school relationship but rarely provide the chance for authentic interaction.* Parents and teachers who are frustrated and dissatisfied with their daily transactions do not dare risk public exposure in these large school meetings by raising their private problems. Teachers fear the scrutiny of their colleagues and principal, who expect them to conform to the collective image of smooth control and decorum that must be projected to parents. And parents worry that their outspoken, challenging style might have a negative impact on their child's acceptance by his teacher, or even that other parents will view his/her public confrontations as a sign of his/her inadequacies and weaknesses as a parent.

Individualized interactions between parents and teachers are rare and specially requested -- usually arising out of dissatisfaction, frustration, or anger on the part of parents and/or teachers (Carew and Lightfoot, 1974; McPherson, 1972). When interactions between parents and teachers become threatening and unresolvable through interpersonal negotiation, teachers often look to their colleagues and the institution for support and protection against parental intrusions (Becker, 1952; Carew and Lightfoot, 1979).

* For an insightful discussion of the vacuous symbolism that sustains these public, ritualistic events for parents and teachers, see Warren (1973:280-291).

HOME AND SCHOOL: CONTRASTS IN POWER

These "natural," structural conflicts intensified by territorial wars are further exaggerated when they reflect differences in resources, power, and status between schools and the families and communities they serve. Revisionist historians have emphasized this arena of conflict by telling the story of schools as major mechanisms of oppression and social control -- institutions derived out of the dominant group's efforts to control and limit the choices of the dangerous and threatening strangers of society. The Revisionist perspective claims that schools have served as a place to inculcate the lower classes with the motivational schemes of factory work -- discipline, passivity, submissiveness -- while at the same time maintaining the benevolent illusion that schools provided universal opportunities for mobility and equality.* Anthropologists and sociologists who study the contemporary scene empirically echo the Revisionists' interpretation. They document the systematic patterns of exclusion and demise experienced by children from poor and minority groups.** The conflicts that grow out of this asymmetry of power between families and schools are negative and destructive in form and purpose. These conflicts sustain that asymmetry and maintain the pervasive inequalities in this society. Although these conflicts are often staged and expressed in the public, political events of community control, school-neighborhood redistricting, and parent participation, they are more profoundly felt in the everyday rituals and repetitive experiences of school life. They are communicated through value transactions, rewards and punishments, low expectations and patronizing gestures of school people. They accumulate as deadening micro-aggressions even as the procedures and ceremony of school may seem to flow fairly and smoothly.

* For example, see Katz (1971); and Bowles and Gintis (1976).

** For an interesting description of how the social relations of the educational process mirrors the social relations of work roles into which students were likely to move, see Leacock (1969).

Ironically, the school wars that erupt between powerless and excluded parents and middle-class educators often seem to obscure profound agreements between them. Antagonisms between black parents and teachers, for example, usually center around the conflicting values attached to education. Interestingly, most studies that examine and document the educational values of these two groups reveal that there are no significant differences in their perspectives. Lower-class black parents and middle-class white teachers, for example, both show a high regard for educational attainment and value schooling as the most critical arena of the child's intellectual life. In fact, black parents voice passionate concern for the value of education in their child's life chances.* Indeed, the literature shows overwhelmingly that blacks (regardless of social status) universally view education as the most promising means for attaining higher socioeconomic status (Cloward and Jones, 1963; Billingsley, 1968: 181-189). The dissonance between black parents and white teachers, therefore, does not lie in the conflicting values attached to education but in the conflicting misperceptions they have of one another.

Despite the passionate and often unrealistic dreams of black parents, teachers continue to view them as uncaring, unsympathetic, and ignorant of the value of education for their children and unconcerned about their children's academic success in school. Often they perceive the parents' lack of involvement in ritualistic school events and parent conferences as apathy and disinterest and rarely interpret it as the inability to negotiate the bureaucratic maze of schools or as a response to a long history of exclusion and rejection at the school door. Their lack of success in effectively participating in the relatively superficial and peripheral roles allowed ghetto parents is perceived by teachers as a lack of interest and concern in their children's education. The irony, of course, is that they care too much -- a kind of caring that limits their view of alternative strategies for moving forward; a blinding preoccupation that makes black

* For an in-depth discussion of the deep concern and ultimate value lower-class blacks attach to schooling, see Scazoni (1971) and Lewis (1967).

parents and children more vulnerable to the modes of subtle and explicit exclusion they face in relation to schools.

On the other hand, what black parents view as the uncaring regard that the white teachers have for their children is related to the teachers' projected feelings about the "realistic" chances black children have for educational and occupational success in this society.* Parents see teachers as not valuing schooling for black children while claiming to be at the center of that critical educational process. In the eyes of parents, most teachers seem to believe that their energies will be wasted on the inevitable failure of the vast majority of black children, and they assure that bleak conclusion by engaging in custodial (rather than teaching) functions and by demeaning and degrading the black intellect and spirit. Parents' and teachers' perceptions of each other as uncaring about children and as devaluing the educational process lead to distance and distrust and the need to blame one another. Rarely articulated and confronted, misconceptions (which are always nurtured by hostile stereotypes) lead to increasing disregard for each other's place in the lives of black children. Rather than search for the origins of conflict and find effective strategies for real (rather than contrived) participation of parents and teachers in a collaborative task, schools develop more sophisticated methods of exclusion; parents draw farther and farther away from parental responsibilities

* In The Next Generation: An Ethnography of Education in an Urban Neighborhood, John Cgbu (n.d.: 3) makes a related point when he demonstrates that even when parents, teachers, students, and taxpayers care deeply about education, the inequalities of opportunity reinforce school failure for black children: "The public school institution in America has not adequately served the needs of subordinate minorities; the high proportion of school failure among subordinate minorities constitutes an adaptation to their lack of full opportunity to benefit from their education in contrast to the dominant group; the present situation cannot be changed merely by changing the home and neighborhood environments, by changing or abolishing the traditional school organization, by applying eugenics or even by all of these. Above all, an increase in the opportunity of the subordinate minorities to benefit socially and economically on an equal basis with whites, from their educational achievements is required."

in the schooling process; and children fail -- often experiencing the failure as their own individual inadequacy, incompetence, and lack of motivation.

The sad irony of the family-school retreat in poor and minority communities, and the rationalized responses of parents and teachers, is that education for the large majority of children will only be successful when there is continuity, trust, and shared accountability and responsibility between families, communities and schools. Being aware of the power and significance of families does not mean that schools should not be held accountable for teaching children. Rather the opposite -- that once school personnel begin to value the significant place of families in the educational process, they will feel more responsible to the communities they serve and to the children they teach. Once teachers become more cognizant of the forms and styles of learning within families, education may be seen more holistically and the medium and message of school can be designed to be adaptive to the values and idiom of community life.

This is not an argument for the superficial interpretations of cultural inclusion which are represented in Negro History Week, now generously expanded and ritualistically renamed Black History Month. Pictures of Paul Robeson, Willy Mays, Martin Luther King, and Frederick Douglass are tacked on classroom bulletin boards. Their stories are bigger than life. They are distant unreachable heroes of whom children can feel deeply proud. But rarely are their lives honestly and meaningfully incorporated into the educational experience of children. Their pictures come down at the end of the month -- only to appear next year, the same unchanging faces, a bit more tattered and worn.

Nor is this a claim that in recognizing families as educators, we should degrade or compromise educational excellence. This was one of the great mistakes of the sixties when large numbers of humanistic, liberated teachers, mouthing the rhetoric of non-traditional education, invaded black communities. They sought to establish loving, caring, familial relationships with their young black charges. Their goals were often laudable and worthy. Their hearts were more or less pure. But their hippy clothes, missionary zeal, progressive pedagogy, and

playful style offended black parents who wanted a more rigorous traditional education that focused on the basic skills of reading and writing.* In fact, if ghetto schools are going to begin to be responsive to parental values it may be that the authority structures, pedagogical modes, and educational goals of schools will need to become more traditionally defined with visible and explicit criteria established for child competencies. In the King School in New Haven, when parents became increasingly involved in the schooling process, they negotiated with teachers for more structured and orderly classrooms, and emphasized the rigors of academic work. As a matter of fact, some parents had become involved in the school specifically in response to what they perceived as a disorderly, chaotic environment that condoned deviant, disruptive behavior in their children and threatened the values that they taught at home (Comer, forthcoming).

But mere rearrangements in curriculum, teaching style, or staffing patterns will not produce significant changes in family-school relationships and community-school accountability. As long as power relationships between minority communities and white middle-class schools remain asymmetric, teachers and principals will not feel accountable to parents and children, and parents will feel helpless and threatened by the overwhelming dominance of the school. For a long time we have understood that the magic of suburban schools is

* There are ideological echoes of these times in contemporary arguments over whether Black English should be allowed and encouraged in school pedagogy and curricula. Some of the controversies have become formalized in court battles where the lines are clearly and publicly drawn and where one side must inevitably lose. See Martin Luther King Elementary School Children vs. the Ann Arbor School District Board (July 12, 1979). A district court construed the 1974 Equal Educational Opportunity Act as forbidding state denial of equal educational opportunity on account of race by failing to utilize known methods of overcoming language barriers faced by students coming from homes and communities where Black English is spoken. The schools need not teach Black English, but teachers must understand its existence, the learning barriers it poses, and teach black children the code switching skills in connection with reading standard English that are appropriate in the light of existing knowledge on the subject.

not merely the relative affluence and abundant resources of the citizens (nor their whiteness), but also the balance of power between families and schools, the sense of responsibility and accountability teachers feel for the educational success of children, and the parent's sense of entitlement in demanding results from schools.

There is recent convincing evidence that redistribution of power and shared responsibility between families and schools in poor, minority communities has a powerful effect on teachers, parents, and children. Herbert Walberg (1977) found increases in the reading scores and intellectual skills of young black children in a large urban school where parents, teachers, and children drew up written contracts of participation and responsibility in the educational process. Time and Newsweek magazines have reported stories of progress and transformation in all-black schools in Chicago's ghettos where principals and teachers began to demand the active and critical participation of parents in their child's learning and in school policy. With the support of parents, teachers were encouraged to adapt their styles of interaction and behaviors to the cultural idiom of the community.* And in the King School in New Haven -- the public, elementary school referred to above -- parents and teachers tell a long, tortuous, and inspiring story of getting to know one another, growing to trust one another, learning to fight productively, and finally building collaborative partnerships. Not only did the reading scores of children in these schools soar to new heights, but the essence of education was transformed by the presence of families within the schools (Comer, 1973).

HOME-SCHOOL COLLABORATION: PERSPECTIVES ON CONFLICT

Increased communication and shared responsibility between families and schools does not mean that boundaries should be completely erased and conflict minimized. Family-school dissonance should not be perceived as necessarily dysfunctional to healthy

* "A New Kind of PTA," Newsweek, November 15, 1976, p. 105.

child development, detrimental to pedagogy and curriculum development, or destructive to the social fabric of society. Certainly, extreme distrust and hostility between families and schools cause great anxiety in children and threaten a smooth and constructive transition between these two environments. But some measure of difference and dissonance is not only historically determined, but also functional to child growth and social change. In The Temporary Society (1968), Philip Slater argues that, in American society, people have endured an historical pattern of chronic change which has created an "experiential chasm" between parents and children. This generational distance has, to some extent, invalidated parental authority and wisdom because parents have not experienced what is of central importance to the child, nor do they possess the knowledge, attitudes, and skills that are adaptive to the conditions of contemporary society. This child-adult discontinuity is viewed by Slater as a natural lever for social change in society. Schools (and any other non-family-based collectivities) have served the important function of regulating and modifying parent-child relationships. Slater (1968: 40) asserts:

One segregates children from adult life because one wishes to do something special with them -- to effect some kind of social change or to adapt to one. Such segregation insulates the child from social patterns of the present and makes him more receptive to some envisioned future.*

Dissonance between family and school therefore is not only inevitable in a changing society, but also helps to make children more malleable and responsive to a changing world. By the same token, one could say that absolute homogeneity between family and school would reflect a static, authoritarian society and discourage creative, adaptive development in children.

It would appear that parents and teachers are most comfortable with one another when they recognize the validity and necessity of both parenting and teaching for the effective socialization of young children in this society. Teachers, for instance, are most at ease

* Also, for an insightful discussion of intergenerational distance and disassociation, see Ryder (1965).

with parents who seem to respect the importance and value of the teacher-role, who feel the teacher is performing a critical task and who respond to his/her needs for autonomy and control. Teachers have the most difficulty with parents who do not seem to value their special competence and skills and who do not differentiate between the demands of the primary relationships within families and the requirements of the secondary relationships within schools.

Themes of possessiveness seem to underlie much of the friction between parents and teachers. Parents often view their relationship to the child as one of ownership and they attempt to extend the years of parental protectiveness and control. When parents defend their children and argue for continuous and ultimate authority over their lives, they are also concerned with protecting their own status in the economic structure of society and assuming some measure of control over their child's projected future.

Parental feelings of ownership and control are complicated by the fact that middle-class and status-seeking parents in this society also recognize the need for the child's successful and complete separation from them as a prelude to his/her future achievement in the corporate world beyond the family and school. Parents, therefore, experience ambivalence in their possessive and protective relationship towards their children and their equally strong recognition that their child's success depends on his autonomy, mobility and separation from the family. These conflicting needs and expectations on the part of parents and children create confusion and anxiety within nuclear families and inevitably lead to difficulties in the family's relationship to schools.

The tensions arising between parents and teachers, therefore, are part of the very fabric of competition and materialism in this society. The school is seen as the major mechanism of standardized competition of human resources; children are viewed as property to be developed, protected, and controlled by parents; and parents are their ambivalent sponsors who must find effective strategies for securing their child's status in some future and unknown society.

It is critical, therefore, that there be a distinction between creative conflict and negative dissonance between family and school.

The former is inevitable in a changing society and adaptive to the development and socialization of children. The latter is dysfunctional to child growth and acculturation and degrading to their families, communities, and culture. Educators, who are engaged daily in trying to shape and clarify their relationship with parents, must make special efforts to learn how to discern the positive and negative forces of conflict. Teachers and parents, who are negotiating curricular issues, must recognize that discontinuities between home and school are not necessarily signs of hostility and threat, but are potentially constructive for the teaching and learning process. In a wonderfully insightful book written in 1932 (but enduringly relevant), Willard Waller (p. 69) noted that the child will experience more freedom of expression and autonomy when different demands are being made by teachers and parents:

Parent-teacher work has usually been directed at securing for the school the support of the parents, that is, at getting parents to see children more or less as teachers see them. But it would be a sad day for childhood if parent-teacher work ever really succeeded in its object. The conflict between parents and teachers is natural and inevitable, and it may be more or less useful. It may be that the child develops better if he is treated impersonally in the schools, provided the parents are there to supply the needed personal attitudes... But it would assuredly be unfortunate if teachers ever succeeded in bringing parents over completely to their point of view, that is, in obtaining for schools the complete and individual support of every parent of every child.

Both teachers and parents, therefore, should anticipate and tolerate a level of creative tension, difference in perspectives, and opposing value systems.

Of course this is more easily said than done. How can teachers and parents recognize creative conflict when they are feeling the pain and vulnerability of the daily struggles waged at family-school boundaries? Is creativity defined by the ultimate resolution of conflict or is it defined by the process and medium of negotiation? Should parents and teachers seek to reinforce the differences in their relationships to children in order to support the autonomy and development of children? How might these differences be characterized in psycho-social as well as structural terms? When do striking

differences in family-school patterns become dysfunctional to child learning? What kinds of structures and mechanisms might be designed to encourage productive communication between parents and teachers? These remain largely unanswered questions. Very little is known about how to characterize or build optimal relationships between families and schools, nor do we know about the perspectives and perceptions of children who negotiate these realms. These are important research agendas that will require systematic, interdisciplinary study, unencumbered by ideological and political debate.

For those educators who are presently engaged in developing relationships with parents and shaping curricular offerings -- for those who cannot wait for tomorrow's research returns -- a good beginning might be to listen for the child's voice. Conversations between families and schools should not take place above children's heads, behind their backs, or in a language they do not understand. The family-school relationship should be a triangular one, including the experiences and perspectives of parents, teachers, and children. When adult figures begin to focus on their reason for coming together in the first place, and begin to act in the best interest of the child, some of their defensiveness will fade away and the territorial lines will erode. A new perception of "the other" is free to emerge -- a vision that is likely to be shared by the child -- one that pictures both parents and teachers as central figures with complex roles and encompassing relationships that embrace the child.

SECTION FIVE

AN AFTERWORD: CO-PRODUCTION AS A MODEL FOR HOME-SCHOOL

COOPERATION

Don Davies

Professor of Education at Boston University and President of the
Institute for Responsive Education

The human service fields have been affected by a management and governance model in which services are delivered by agencies to presumably passive clients, patients, or students. In this model, the agencies and the professionals that staff them are to be "held accountable" by various schemes of external monitoring, legislative oversight, testing, and client representation on citizen advisory committees.

In all human services, this "delivery system" mentality has pernicious effects. Common sense tells us that high quality public services require the direct involvement of those being served. Good police protection requires neighborhood residents to have secure locks on their doors, to report suspicious persons, and to encourage respect for the law. Good health care requires the citizenry to actively engage in both prevention and treatment: keeping poisons out of the reach of children, examining oneself for signs of cancer, following the regimen prescribed by a physician. In the case of public schools, it is obvious that learning requires the active response by the learner, and that home and family conditions affect what children learn.

The authors of the preceding sections challenge the present delivery system model of the schools and call for different ways of thinking about home and school cooperation. The material in this collection helps to lay the groundwork for the development of new approaches. This writer agrees with the previous authors that the time has come to develop a more effective model of home

and school cooperation. The concept of co-production is advanced here as a valuable organizing principle to be considered in determining new ways for home and school cooperation to increase children's learning.

Co-production means an organized mixing of the efforts of the "regular" producers of education (teachers, counselors, specialists, and administrators), the direct consumers (students), and the primary indirect educational consumers (parents). Both "regular producers" and "consumer producers" contribute to the services, in this case education. Each is a co-producer.

The concept of co-production as it is being developed at the Institute for Responsive Education (IRE) has several characteristics which are seen to be essential if it is to be applicable and acceptable to professionals and citizens involved in the public schools.*

First, the activities to be called co-production must be directed at the core of the school program -- instruction, especially including the basic subjects -- and they must offer an organized way in which the school's production in basic educational services can be improved. Unless it is directed at the core of the school program, the co-production function can be made trivial. And, unless it is organized, that is, institutionalized, co-production will be subject to those forces, eloquently described by Lightfoot, in Section Four of this collection, which create distrust between parents and teachers.

Second, co-production requires collaborative planning by the "regular producers" and the "consumer producers." This includes reaching consensus on the educational needs of students and on instructional goals. Reaching consensus requires discussion and

* IRE is indebted for the word "co-production" and much provocative work on the concept to a group of scholars at the Workshop in Political Theory and Policy Analysis, Indiana University. None of the co-production studies have yet been focused on schools. This discussion of co-production is based on material in "Section Seven: Summary and Conclusions, Continued Leadership Into the 1980's," in Leading the Way: State Mandates for School Advisory Councils in California, Florida and South Carolina, by Ross Zerchykov and Don Davies, with Janet Chrispeels, Institute for Responsive Education, 1980.

negotiation. Such negotiation is both more difficult and more crucial when the regular producers and the consumer producers are separated by differences in race and/or class.

Third, after consensus on instructional goals is achieved, responsibilities must be assigned and accepted by all affected parties -- students, parents, teachers, counselors, specialists, and administrators. Once again, discussion and negotiation are essential. The special interests and vulnerabilities of low-income and minority parents must be protected by the legal framework which establishes the co-production model in the first place.

Fourth, both authority and blame must be shared. If planning is collaborative, if consensus about instructional goals is achieved, and if responsibilities can be distributed clearly and appropriately, then all parties will have accordingly a share of the power and the responsibility. All share credit for achieving goals and blame for failure to do so.

Fifth, a functioning model of co-production requires a collaborative assessment of the process and results and mechanisms for the alteration of plans and policies.

Co-production with these characteristics is a deliberate, coordinated and formally recognized process. It is also a process that requires a sequence of steps:

- Determining children's educational needs.
- Collaboratively setting and clarifying objectives.
- Identifying available and needed resources.
- Negotiating and assigning responsibilities.
- Reporting on and monitoring results.

CO-PRODUCTION: WHAT IT IS NOT

The characteristics of co-production are profoundly different from many of the common practices of parent and citizen involvement in the schools. Co-production is not giving advice -- lay people offering advice to school administrators about school policies or administrative practices. It is participating directly in collaborative planning and decisionmaking and in producing educational

services. It includes but is not limited to such activities as: tutoring, assisting with or monitoring one's own children's school work at home, providing resources for instruction, and identifying and correcting problems which may interfere with learning in the school.

Similarly, the concept of co-production does not conceive of parents as watchdogs who monitor and assess the progress in meeting goals which are set up by school personnel. As noted, co-production requires mutually agreed upon goals and shared responsibility. Accountability, therefore, is internal, not external. Co-production is also different from most forms of parental involvement in which schools identify problems, determine goals or program needs, and then ask the home for help but only on the school's terms. Co-production is a "two-way street." It does not assign failure in learning to the characteristics or the failings of the community or the family. It does recognize that schools "can't do it alone." The co-production model rejects both "blaming the victim" and institutional scapegoating. It requires sharing both power and blame.

Co-production is also not the same as self-help, in which the service is produced exclusively or nearly exclusively by the consumer. The co-production model in the school requires the participation of competent professionals -- more, not less, professional expertise is needed. But the co-production model assumes a "two-way street" and recognizes that professionals do not have a monopoly on talent and expertise and are not the only parties with a stake in school improvement.

Finally, in the model sketched in these pages, co-production is neither casual nor episodic. It is deliberate, systematic, continuing and must be rooted in law and regulation.

BENEFITS OF CO-PRODUCTION

If a workable model of co-production can be developed and adopted in local and state educational policies, the benefits can be substantial. From the point of view of state policymakers and local school boards, the idea is responsive to strong demands by elected officials and citizens for increased "school productivity" (often simply meaning better results for the increased public investment), for more emphasis

on the basic skills components of the instructional program, and for helping all children achieve a level of minimum competency by the time of high school graduation.

From the point of view of parents, the idea of co-production should be attractive. Most parents are primarily interested in instructional questions and not in policies, politics and power. Most parents who become involved do so because they want better schooling for their own children. Thus, more parents will be induced to participate if the benefits of participation are seen to be related to this primary concern for increased learning through better school programs. Individuals choose to participate on the basis of an informal calculation of the cost of the activity (time, money, emotional strain) in relation to its perceived benefits. The cost of participation in school affairs is often perceived as high by many parents, especially low-income and minority parents. While it is difficult for policymakers to reduce the cost, they can increase the benefit side of the formula by seeking to tie participation as directly as possible to improvements in school effectiveness.

The co-production model described here can be a very direct, cost-effective way for the "indirect consumers" -- parents -- to influence the nature and quality of educational services. By definition, the co-producer exercises power by being involved directly in planning and producing the services. In addition, the negotiated aspects of the model provide for varying degrees of involvement by different co-producers depending on interests, time, and skills.

From the point of view of teachers and administrators, co-production should be viewed as less threatening than other forms of parental involvement categorized by Mario Fantini in Section Two. The threat to professionals should be less because co-production:

- (i) involves parents in collaborative rather than adversarial relationships;
- (ii) affords protection to professional interests and prerogatives (because the model requires negotiated agreement);
- (iii) increases the human resources available to the school;
- (iv) focuses on the common concern of both educators and parents -- better instruction; and
- (v) provides for sharing the blame as well as authority.

Given the perspective of the "emergent curriculum" as advanced by Sinclair and Ghory, the co-production model can contribute to making schools more effective by fostering a deliberate, coordinated process of assessing needs, setting objectives, and assigning responsibilities. Research on school effectiveness indicates that such a concentrated focus on instruction is likely to be characteristic of those schools that are more effective. To the extent that the public schools do become more effective, their base of support among parents and others in the community may be increased. The joint ownership that can come as a part of co-production can also stem eroding political and economic support of the public schools.

CO-PRODUCTION: IMPLEMENTATION

An agency or vehicle is needed to implement the concept of co-production. Such an agency must have official status. It must be credible to parents and educators. School and citizens' advisory councils already mandated by the Federal government, and, increasingly, by state governments, are well suited to serve this function. Many of these councils include among their members parents, teachers, administrators, and students (in the case of secondary schools) and, hence, are already a forum where the key participants required to make the co-production model work have already come together. Such councils are public bodies, created by the state and recognized by local education agencies. Moreover, school councils are, by mandate and tradition, focused on a particular school, on its student body and its needs. A renewed focus on co-producing a joint curriculum can save these bodies from the ritualistic, unfocused character of parent-teacher interactions which are, unfortunately, all too typical of such mandated advisory councils.

Since the model of co-production sketched in these pages is built around collaborative planning, a planning mechanism is needed. Some precedents do exist. In three states no legislative action is required to assure councils of being vehicles for co-production. In California, Florida and South Carolina, school councils exist which can serve as forums for co-production. In California, school

councils are mandated to design a school-site improvement plan. In Florida and South Carolina, their Annual School Report processes could become the planning mechanism. In both states, producing the Annual Report is a major responsibility of school advisory councils and that process focuses on instruction and requires the involvement of both parents and educators. However, regulations and instructions for the Annual Report would have to be sharpened and made more specific if it is to serve the co-production function in a focused and deliberate way.

In other states that choose to mandate councils as vehicles for co-production, specific planning mechanisms would have to be included in the legal framework. As noted, provisions for an Annual School Plan and Report are one possibility. An adaptation of the Individual Educational Plan (IEP) is yet another possibility. The IEP is currently employed for handicapped children in districts receiving Federal funds under Public Law 94-142. The IEP is a formal process involving teachers, specialists, administrators, health professionals, and parents who have a right to participate directly and to approve the plan developed for their child. The IEP provides an orderly -- even if it is sometimes cumbersome and time consuming -- way to assess the learning needs of children, develop educational plans to meet those needs, and assign responsibilities to teachers, specialists, the student and the home. A simplified adaptation of the IEP model could become a key part of a co-production model.

In many schools across the country, elements of co-production are already in place even though the participants do not call it as such. Certainly the School Improvement Program in California is already well on its way in this direction. But, as suggested by the other papers in this collection, the concept of co-production is still more a possibility than an existent practice. Much more work needs to be done to define, clarify, develop, and test the potential of the concept of co-production.

There is, however, a danger that the idea and the word will be turned into a gimmick -- another educational catch-word or fad. The danger is that the idea will be touted as a quick-fix, an easy answer to some of the substantive and political problems the schools are

facing. Nevertheless, the risk is worth taking. The concept deserves serious critique and consideration by those who are stirred by the analysis and arguments of Ralph Tyler, Mario Fantini, Bob Sinclair, Ward Ghory and Sara Lightfoot. The terminology is not important. The concept is. As Sinclair and Ghory said: "We need to find ways to team parents and teachers that will encourage both groups to collaborate in building complementary learning environments for children and youth." As all of the authors have implied, the 1980's offer an opportunity to tap the energies of the student, the school, the home, and the community in the interests of the development of the children of our society.

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ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Robert L. Sinclair, who edited this collection, consults in schools, school systems, and communities throughout the country to improve educational environments. He assists educators and parents to develop effective schools by eliminating factors that hinder learning and by maintaining and creating conditions that foster learning. His research and writing center on describing educational environments as perceived by learners and on determining leadership behavior that is necessary for making schools better. Dr. Sinclair is Professor of Education and Director of the Center for Curriculum Studies at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst.

Ralph W. Tyler has been an educational practitioner for 59 years -- as a high school teacher, university professor and director of research projects. His major activities have been in helping schools and colleges in developing curricula and evaluating educational programs in the United States and overseas. Among these projects were the Eight-Year Study, a project of secondary schools during the Depression, the Cooperative Study in General Education, an activity of 22 colleges and universities, and the National Assessment of Educational Progress. Dr. Tyler is currently Director Emeritus of the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences and Senior Consultant for the Science Research Associates.

Mario D. Fantini, Dean of the School of Education at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, is one of the nation's best-known educational reformers. As a Ford Foundation officer, Dr. Fantini helped initiate some of the most innovative educational programs, many of which are still being implemented throughout the country today. He was also the architect of the controversial school decentralization plan for New York City. As an advocate for increasing educational options for students, parents and teachers and for a public education system that provides quality as well as equal education for all people, Dr. Fantini has been the featured speaker at numerous conferences both here and abroad. Converting our present

school system into a comprehensive educational system for the future in which the school becomes an integral part of a community-based, coordinated human service process represents Dr. Fantini's present concern. In addition, he has authored and co-authored many books, including Public Schools of Choice: A Plan for the Reform of American Education; Toward Humanistic Education (with Gerald Weinstein); and the recently-released Parenting in a Multicultural Society (with Rene Cardenas).

Ward J. Ghory is Coordinator of Program Development and Evaluation for the Urban Education Pilot Program of the Cincinnati Public Schools. This school improvement project works with the teachers, principals, parents and community leaders of twelve inner-city schools allied in one high school feeder system. A graduate of Yale University and the University of Massachusetts, Dr. Ghory has taught for five years at the kindergarten, secondary and graduate levels. Among his educational interests are curriculum theory, classroom management and community-based learning. His most recent enthusiasm is for the formation of UKids!, a parent-cooperative infant development center Ward is organizing with his wife and several other parents.

Sara Lawrence Lightfoot, a Sociologist of Education, is a Professor in the Department of Social Policy at The Harvard Graduate School of Education. Dr. Lightfoot has been a student of child development at Bank Street College, researched the battered child syndrome and its psycho-social implications at Harlem Hospital and Columbia University, and studied cognitive development in children from birth to two years at The Albert Einstein School of Medicine. Dr. Lightfoot's more recent research has focused on the lives of teachers and children in their classrooms; the ways in which teachers' political and social ideologies influence patterns of authority, power, and justice that are related and sustained in classrooms; and the dynamic relationship between the processes and structures of families and schools. Her most recent publications include Worlds Apart: Relationships between Families and Schools and Beyond Bias: Perspectives on Classrooms.

Don Davies, an advocate and student of citizen participation for a decade and a consultant and researcher for state legislatures and

education agencies, is a professor of Education at Boston University as well as the President and founder of the Institute for Responsive Education. He was also Associate Commissioner and, then, Deputy Commissioner for Development in the U.S. Office of Education. Dr. Davies has authored more than 15 publications on the topics of school-community relations and parent/citizen involvement and has most recently edited Communities and Their Schools, to be published in December 1980 by McGraw Hill and Kettering Foundation's I/D/E/A, which discusses innovative and exemplary practices in community/school relations.

ABOUT THE INSTITUTE FOR RESPONSIVE EDUCATION

The Institute for Responsive Education (IRE) is a private, non-profit, national research, policy analysis and technical assistance organization with a seven-year history of conducting studies on and disseminating information about community involvement in school decisionmaking. Although private and independent, IRE is housed at Boston University, where its President and founder, Don Davies, formerly Deputy Commissioner in the United States Office of Education, is now Professor in the School of Education.

Founded on the premises that citizen participation is an essential ingredient in school improvement and that citizens' access to information is indispensable for effective participation, IRE has, throughout its seven-year history, produced more than 22 reports including field-research monographs, bibliographies and literature reviews, and translations of complex, educational issues into popular form.

A Two-Way Street is another publication that has arisen from continuing IRE efforts to better understand and assist citizen participation in educational decisionmaking and disseminate this information and experience to citizens, educators and policymakers. A Two-Way Street reflects IRE's commitment to an expanded awareness of home-school relationships and, in turn, IRE's commitment to insure effective and increased citizen participation and citizen-professional collaboration in education, the ultimate concern of which is children's learning.

IRE has been involved in other facets of citizen participation which include school-community councils, citizen roles in educational collective bargaining, Federal and state policies affecting citizen participation, the role of citizen-initiated organizations, declining enrollment, and citizen action research for school improvement. For example: IRE has just completed a report, Leading the Way: State Mandates for School Advisory Councils in California, Florida and South Carolina, which emanated from a multi-year project aimed at school council improvement, funded by the Charles Stewart Mott

Foundation. The overall object of that project, begun in August 1979, is to increase citizen participation effectiveness through mandated school councils. More specifically, the project aims to provide information and assistance that will aid local and state policymakers and to increase local-state partnerships that will improve schools through citizen participation.

Also, under contract to the National Institute of Education, IRE has recently completed a three-year study (1976-79) of citizen participation in education which produced: (i) a Final Research Report of an 18-month field study (on a sample of 18 community organizations in three cities) of community organization effectiveness; (ii) an 800 item Annotated Bibliography on citizen participation in education; and (iii) a report to state policymakers on community involvement mechanisms which drew upon three years of bibliographic, survey and field research. IRE staff also served on an Evaluation Team with a specific sub-contract to assess Florida's mandate for local school advisory committees.

Such field work has provided IRE with the foundation from which to recommend policy changes at the national and state level. In all of its work, IRE stresses a combination of study and action which makes for richer and more useful research and for action that has a solid base of data and experience. Hence, in addition to conducting studies and producing reports aimed primarily at policymakers, IRE has continued to collect and disseminate materials for community groups interested in school decisionmaking. To this end, IRE houses an ongoing Clearinghouse of Information for Citizens. Through this Clearinghouse, IRE addresses community-based education needs by the continual collection of reports, studies and handbooks, the publication of packets and resource guides, and, whenever possible, the dissemination of information in response to phone calls and written requests. Informal responses to such requests led IRE to discuss ways of stimulating citizen involvement with State Department of Education officials from California, New York, Rhode Island and New Jersey. Responding to requests from citizens' groups and local school districts has taken IRE to California, Kentucky, Florida

and New Hampshire.

These experiences as well as the Clearinghouse information are shared by IRE's participation in regional and national conferences and disseminated through our national newsletter, Citizen Action in Education (CAE). With a subscription list of nearly 24,000, CAE reports on current developments and models in the field of citizen participation in educational decisionmaking. It also links parents, citizens and school personnel who are interested in councils as a type of citizen involvement.

In order to expand the Clearinghouse and its utility, we openly invite more materials on citizen participation and, specifically, on home-school cooperation. This will assist us in our efforts to provide more specific information to groups and individuals requesting assistance. Please send materials and ideas to:

Anne Vadala or Ross Zerchykov
National Clearinghouse on Citizen Participation
in the Schools
Institute for Responsive Education
704 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston, Massachusetts 02215

RELATED IRE PUBLICATIONS

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATION: ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY. Second edition, Don Davies and Ross Zerchykov. January 1978, 386 pp., \$15.00. Annotations of over 839 books, reports and articles organized and cross-referenced around topics like minority perspectives, community education, educational alternatives and areas of citizen participation -- budgets, desegregation, curriculum, collective bargaining, school councils and child advocacy. Special section includes annotations of handbooks, manuals, bibliographies and other reference works. In specific, this volume contains 29 annotations of curriculum oriented resource and reference materials.

EDUCATION FOR ALL PEOPLE: A GRASSROOTS PRIMER. Ron Walker and the IRE staff, third printing, 1980, 155 pp., \$6.00. An encyclopedic guide to educational issues today. Pinpoints national organizations and Federal programs which assist grassroots organizations. Examines issues like school financing, legal rights, desegregation, bilingual and special education. Discusses an array of topics ranging from affirmative action and accountability to minimum competency and vouchers. Practical "how to" information, a brief fund-raising guide, examples of successful grassroots groups, a listing of minority news media, and a directory of national organizations complete this catalog. The Primer also includes chapters on school evaluation and the home as a learning environment, plus there is a listing in the directory of over a dozen nationwide organizations dealing with curriculum.

LEADING THE WAY: STATE MANDATES FOR SCHOOL ADVISORY COUNCILS IN CALIFORNIA, FLORIDA AND SOUTH CAROLINA, Ross Zerchykov and Don Davies, with Janet Chrispeels, 1980, 175 pp., \$6.00. Examines the origins and character of state policies mandating school advisory councils in California, Florida and South Carolina, and assesses the available evidence on the efficacy of councils. This book is organized into seven sections which cover: the background of Federal and state initiatives, a summary of the research and evaluation literature, one section

apiece on programs in each of the three states, and a summary section which views public policy about councils in terms of "what works," "what doesn't work," and "what might work." The final section also contains a presentation of the co-production model as evidenced from the research done on citizen participation in the three states covered in the book.

OVERCOMING BARRIERS TO SCHOOL COUNCIL EFFECTIVENESS. Jim Stanton, et al., March 1979, 153 pp., \$6.50. Report of a project which studied and assisted 18 school-related councils in California, South Carolina and New York. Three objectives ran through this project: providing resources to councils; working through local citizen organizations to provide councils with in-kind support; and, gathering and sharing information on ways councils organize and take action. Written by citizen activists, Overcoming Barriers discusses common denominators of school council effectiveness and ineffectiveness and factors to consider in evaluating and assisting school councils and, thus, helping to create real decisionmaking partnerships between parents and professional educators. Chapter Five, "Barriers to the Participation of Hispanics in School Councils in Yonkers," talks about problems of minorities in participation and reiterates Lightfoot's theme of the inequality of power status between parents, especially minorities, and schools.

SCHOOLS WHERE PARENTS MAKE A DIFFERENCE. Don Davies, ed., 1976, 163 pp., \$3.95. A collection of case studies/essays on successful citizen programs in school districts across the country. For example: parental choice of schools for their children in Minnesota and California; school-community councils in Kentucky and West Virginia; the effects of local politics on schools in Texas; and parent participation in desegregation planning in Boston. The thrust of the book is not to get rid of educational professional educators in favor of parents, but to teach the two groups to work together for improved educational opportunity for all children. Chapter Four, "Learning in Louisville is a Two-Way Street," by Wallace Roberts, examines

home-school cooperation in Louisville. Included in this book are:
guidelines for setting up parent groups and suggestions on their roles
and responsibilities.

OTHER IRE PUBLICATIONS

CITIZEN ACTION IN EDUCATION. Biannual newsmagazine of the Institute.
\$5.00 per year journal contribution.

COLLECTING EVIDENCE: A LAYMAN'S GUIDE TO PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION.
Joseph Ferreira and Bill Burges, 1979, second printing, 24 pp., \$2.00.

FACTS AND FIGURES: A LAYMAN'S GUIDE TO CONDUCTING SURVEYS. Bill Burges,
1979, second printing, 125 pp., \$4.25.

FACTS FOR A CHANGE: CITIZEN ACTION RESEARCH FOR BETTER SCHOOLS. Bill
Burges, 1979, second printing, 125 pp., \$5.00.

FEDERAL AND STATE IMPACT ON CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN THE SCHOOLS.
Don Davies, James Upton, Miriam Clasby, Felix Baxter, Brian Powers,
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NARROWING THE GAP BETWEEN INTENT AND PRACTICE: A REPORT TO POLICYMAKERS
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